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Y



EN LUCHA

Theoretical Organ of the
Puerto Rican Commission
of the Movimiento de
Liberación Nacional.

FALL 1981/WINTER 1982

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By M.L.N. Political Studies Commission - English
1979 - First Edition - 84 pages

A topic which has had little analysis, but which is essential to understand in order to program for the coming decade of the 80's.

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The book contains speeches and articles by leading forces in the revolutionary public Independence movement as well as statements and communiques from the armed clandestine organizations.

****La Patria Radical - Spanish* \$4.00
By Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1978 - Fourth Edition - 150 pages

****La Lucha Por La Independencia de Puerto Rico - Spanish* \$3.00
By Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1977 - Fifth Edition - 149 pages

***These two books will soon be available in English.

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

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AGAINST REPRESSION AND FASCISM

I - INTERNACIONAL

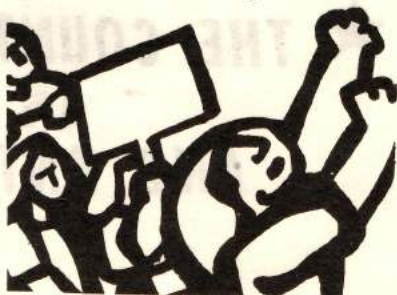
ASPECTS OF PROBLEM:

The international crisis of capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism brings, as a consequence, the general collapse of bourgeois democracy in the industrialized nations as the crisis is deepened, and the working classes, the oppressed nationalities and the minorities rebel. We are not proclaiming that capitalism will collapse in the near future, but we denounce the transformation from democracy to fascism that is taking place.

Everywhere in the world, nations declare the nationalization of their natural resources, impose a fair price on their commodities, and demand a new understanding which gives them political stability, oppose military aggression, and the calls for the transfer of technology adequate for the transformation of their economy and the development of an industrial infrastructure. For their part, the national liberation movements and their socialist

armed vanguards strike at the centers of the bourgeoisie and at the same time at the colonial territories.

The factors are producing a withdrawal and a retreat by the Bourgeoisie to their lairs in the imperialist nations. From now on, they will have to increase their profit from



the sweat of their own social classes, in the process, liquifying the benefits and bribes with which they have bought social peace in their own country.

Imperialism is trying to create a favorable international balance through the reorganization of its structures. It forms a Trilateral Commission, made up of three structures: Council of Ministers (composed of the rulers of

the capitalist countries); the Commission itself (a body of about 250 experts in diverse fields, from the worker's movement to stockbrokers from the Wall Streets of the capitalist world. These 250 have been recruited from the worker's aristocracy of their respective countries, technicians, scientists, and brokers of the capitalist banks); the National Commissioners (made up of the totality of the bourgeoisie in the respective countries of an imperialist nature.)

From the Trilateral Commission comes the leadership to implement the basic politics of the U.S. It is no accident that the U.S. exercises control of the process and the matters of political, economic and military substance in the Trilateral Commission. David Rockefeller directs it and Zbigniew Brzezinski presides over it.

But their acts are in vain. The crisis is deepening. The force of war and fascism is appearing on the horizon in the capitalist countries.

II. NATIONAL ASPECTS OF PROBLEM: THE U.S.

Reagan is the most fascist President the U.S. has had.

He will have four years as President until the North American people kick him out of the white house; or, opting for suicide, they elect him to a second term of four years.

The economic depression, although in part definitely manipulated, and inflation point out the general lack of confidence in the present economic system; these two tendencies follow each other and merge in vicious circles at an ever accelerating rate. Imperialism is trying to stabilize the economy, to produce a growing percentage of wealth for the bourgeoisie to transform their outdated industry to one that relies heavily on technology and robots. Their experts predict a whole new world of social technology which will permit the transfer of the present industrial technology to the underdeveloped countries, without any real transformation of the current capitalist countries control over the market of International consumption.

They are attempting to generate this new profit margin from their own national productive capacity and the reorganization of their global political relationships. Here are

the budget cuts, (which are nothing more than the growing transfer of public funds from the social service sector to military technification. Here is anti-communism with terrorism on the flip side. The means to deal with the "com-



munist threat" or the "terrorist threat" is repression. This is how they justify generalized repression to the masses.

Repression is focused on the revolutionary sectors, because the leadership of the mass feeling must be repressed. However, repression will spread beyond these sectors to all the social sectors which increasingly fill and express their dissatisfaction with the domestic politics of the Trilateralists and their cur-

rent puppet, Ronald Reagan. Today, all the intelligence agencies are running to restore their files which in 1975 had basic facts on more than a million North Americans, Puerto Ricans, both independentistas and non-independentistas, Mexicans, Blacks, Native Americans, Asians and other national sectors.

Today, repression is focused on the revolutionary sectors of Puerto Rican, Black, Chicano/Mexicano and Native American nations. Specifically, they are using the Grand Juries to imprison and criminalize those sectors and scorning legal procedure in the process.

When they realize that this is not enough, they will reorganize the whole justice system to insure more repressive laws. In fact, several laws have already been passed and there are several comprehensive proposals pending to legalize repression. Fascism is drawing nearer.

While fascism is coming closer, the people groan under increased economic adversity. Solutions are not to be seen. Confrontation is approaching. Revolutionary forces must unite. A solid front against repression is essential.

III. DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE PROGRAM AGAINST REPRESSION:

The struggle against repression and fascism has, necessarily, two characteristics.

First, defensive: to defend the victims of social and political repression, help political prisoners and prisoners of war, and group together all the progressive forces under attack.

Second, offensive: mobilize protest of all types, to publicize cases of repression on all levels and to maintain popular pressure on the repressive agencies and jails.

The programmatic combination of these factors must be the central theme of any conference.

At the same time, the struggle against repression and fascism must include a plan of popular education so that the specific cases can be understood. Furthermore, it must project class ideology, which is essential, if we are to go beyond just one more reformist campaign.

Finally, if we don't carry out a program which includes all the forms of struggle available, the effectiveness of

the struggle against repression and fascism will only win on the levels on which we are struggling.

IV. PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES

At the end of May, we will have a conference on all the aspects of the struggle against repression and fascism already described. As this time, it is appropriate to list several modest objectives of the first phase:

First, to establish a center of national coordination. Second, to begin a local, national and international campaign which will bring us to the two major events in the three month period of August to November 1982: The United Nations discussion of the case of Puerto Rico and the International Day of Solidarity with New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, which will also be a day of solidarity with the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

1982 must be an offensive year to gain International recognition for the prisoners of war and the political prisoners in Yankee jails. We must try to advance political recognition of these cases

and create an impact on the organizations which do work on these cases of Prisoners of Conscience. — The United Nations Commission on Human Rights and Amnesty International. We must also take the case of the prisoners to the Decolonization Committee again and have it be discussed in the General As-

This requires a process of discussions with influential organizations inside the U.S.; with parties inside and outside the U.S., and the consolidation of a common front.

We must identify all the resources, organizations, parties and governments which will facilitate our work. Do this first and then initiate the



sembly.

To do this we must inform these International delegations and governments in advance, have discussions with delegates and governments, and prepare documents, literature, updates, and letters for the International community.

campaign. We must explain this to the people and mobilize masses from the months of August through November, for whatever day the demonstrations will be. We must mobilize the people and act.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN POLAND AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

The October Revolution which brought the Bolshevik Party to power in Russia was not the complete hegemonic victory of the working class that many people believe it to be. At the very center of the revolution, bourgeois social democrats and the Menshevik petty bourgeoisie, historically opportunist, took advantage of the revolutionary storm by the working class to conceal themselves in the workers' own party and to survive in positions of power.

For quite a long time they resisted the necessary attack against the rich landowners (Kulaks). It was not until the Stalin period, prior to the Second World War, that a program was carried out to smash the centers of agricultural capitalism and, in part, expell the bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements which lived as parasites inside the Soviet Communist Party.

The Second World War and the fascist attack on the Soviet Union paralyzed the process and forced Stalin to bring a-

bout a patriotic consensus leading to a common Russian front against Germany. On this basis we can explain the phenomenon of Khrushchev and the anti-Stalin reaction following the death of this brilliant leader of proletarian construction in the Soviet Union.

The post-World War II period saw many European countries liberated by the great Red Army. In Poland, liberation brought a patriotic front to power, led by the Polish Communist Party but including all the so-called "progressive and anti-fascist sectors" of the time, including Catholics, revolutionary nationalists and other neo-Trotskyist sectors.

As the years passed the Polish Workers Party continued to develop with these sectors, at times anti-Communists, both within and outside the Party. The Khrushchev reaction of the 1950s allowed many of these disguised anti-communists to acquire power and privilege, distorting goals and objectives, undermining the basic charac-

ter of the Communist Parties in Europe, as well as the revolutionary character of Communist Parties in some other parts of the world.

The next period, 1950–1970, witnessed counter revolution in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Poland. In every case the Communist Parties, with Soviet aid, were strong enough to defeat the counter-revolution at the level of uprisings; however in some cases, like Poland, reactionary forces were – and still are – strong enough to bring about a new arrangement which would leave reactionary structures virtually intact.

Imperialism, continually aggressive, has focused on these contradictions in order to undermine Communism as much as possible. Thus, the so-called dissident movements, which are nothing more than nuclei of alienated and degenerate anti-social elements who, based in mysticism and the cult of individuality, preach the myth of personal liberty and anti-worker bourgeois democracy. Also, fascist and Zionist elements spread a campaign of defamation against the Soviet Union as part of imperialist propaganda which preaches

the so-called right of national exception.

All of this could be an abstract question except for an enormous objective contradiction which asks us the following question: How can U.S. imperialism speak about the rights of minorities if it denies them to its own minorities. How is it possible that Imperialism pushes for the rights of foreign citizens, when it represses and assassinates its own dissidents.

This is the key to the contradiction which enables us to question everything the capitalist press and the U.S. government say about reality in the Communist countries.

But there is more. The Reagan government in the U.S. and Margaret Thatcher's government in England are the two governments closest to fascism and anti-worker reaction today. Those of us who live within the borders they control – Puerto Ricans, Irish, Blacks, Chicano–Mexicanos, Native Americans, know very well their anti-worker, anti-poor, anti-nationalities, anti-minorities practice; their politic of arms build-up, intervention and repression. Nevertheless, these two countries

are leading the campaign of so-called support to those that they called the oppressed within the socialist world. The contradiction is obvious. How can they have the poor and oppressed in their own country and defend them in others. The answer is easy: Reagan, Thatcher and international capitalist reaction are trying to undermine Communist influence and create a new anti-communist barrier in the world. Their principal weapons are anti-communism and anti-terrorism. Both substitute invented fantasies for genuine development.

First of all, anti-communism reveals itself in the present period with a new disguise: anti-Soviet Union. Hidden under this disguise, the U.S.S.R. becomes, for anti-communists, another country of the imperialist type. It is instilled in the infantile left and the progressive masses of the world that this is a struggle between this supposed social imperialism and real yanki imperialism for hegemony. Some left sectors, particularly in the U.S., lack a true understanding of the nature of people's and working class struggles, leap to the attack against this supposed phantom of social im-

perialism and preach the distorted thesis designed by the C.I.A. to confuse the working class and to keep this class alienated from their only class ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Unfortunately the current sectarian quarrel between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Albania encourage this.

The aggressiveness and capacity of yanki imperialist capital and its subsidiaries in Europe and Japan promote the internal weaknesses of the United Fronts forged in post-war Europe, in order to cause conflicts which serve their interests: to depict the socialist countries as the dictatorial rule of corrupt technocracies.

At the same time, they strip the national liberation movements of their true liberating character with the negative label of terrorism. They take advantage of the socialist desire for peace and social stability to block support for the revolutionary sectors, attempt to isolate them and liquidate their base with an ideological distortion of reality. Thus, according to imperialism, the anti-colonial struggles, such as Puerto Rico, Palestine and Ireland, are terroristic. They

easily find an echo in North American counter-intelligence, and within anti-communist sectors disguised as socialists that are eating away the heart of many Parties and socialist and progressive movements in the world.

II. POLAND

The case of Poland is an example of what we are saying. For several decades now, corruption and reaction have undermined the Polish Workers' Party. Anti-communist sectors within the Party have promoted personal wealth — villas and castles for high-level leaders, hunger for the people — and the approximation of imperialist financial structures.

Poland, to a greater degree, and other socialist nations to a lesser extent, owe a huge amount to capitalist banks due to loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Poland owes \$25 billion.

Polish revisionists thought that in this way they could link their nation's economy with the world market, increase their exports to the West (they never went beyond the exportation of ham and bicycles) and, in the process, industrialize Poland while they were

developing through use of the loans an economic and social Stability, which would permit the consolidation of anti-worker, classist hegemony. With the support of more than 100,000 Polish emigres who returned from the U.S. and other capitalist nations to live in Poland in the 1960's, they forged ties with Polish emigre circles in the U.S., with the C.I.A. and the Imperialist labor aristocracy of the AFL-CIO. The anti-communists attempt to coordinate the seizure of power by occupying high positions within the Polish government bureaucracy in leadership positions in provinces and industrial cities, in key posts in the Communist Party and as a vanguard of the reaction, group together all the anti-communist forces within an infrastructure of the working class, to which they gave the pretty name of Solidarity. Solidarity unites the diverse anti-communist interests which range from Capitalists and Social Democrats to Trotskyists and other anti-social elements.

The plan almost worked in December, 1981, we all know how Poland has been shaken by the attempt.

Now it is important to know what Communism is cap-

able of doing. Because not only must we defeat the liberal tendencies which tempt us to solve the problem according to a false concept of humanism, we must also smash reaction.

At this time the Polish working class is capable of leading and deepening the true revolution from within Polish Society, getting rid of all forms of opportunism, revisionist, plague, individualistic corruption and reorganizing the party so it can transform it into a true Polish Workers Party.

III. OUR TASK AS REVOLUTIONARIES

A while ago, comrades from the Canadian Party of Labor (M-L) demonstrated to us their analytical capacity and class perspective when they pointed out the serious danger Solidarity represents for the working class world wide. They did so when the Polish Crisis had only just begun and when we in the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (M.L.N.) were barely thinking about anything as remote as making this part of our tasks. They fulfilled their proletarian duty — to clarify.

The trust which the Liga

Socialista Puertorriquena (M-L) has demonstrated in the Canadian Party of Labor (M-L) is supported by the fact that in Canada there is no organization more loyal, in practice, to the interests of the working class than this party led by Comrade Phil Taylor. He has personally sacrificed his time as well as the tasks of developing his own party in order to advance, when necessary, the interests of the Canadian Working Class beyond the question of the Party.

This is how a proletariat attuned to the working class—and a worker's party—should analyze the question of class struggle in whatever situation he finds himself. If, indeed, the dynamics of liberation struggles are a source of differences, the question of the most fundamental working class interests are not.

For this reason, the question of Poland is not simply of analytical importance or peripheral to the struggle for National Liberation in Puerto Rico. It is of central importance for the struggle of all humanity against Imperialism, capitalism and revisionism. It is no longer just Poland for the Polish people; now it is a question of Poland for the

working class. We must be in colonial countries." To our Solidarity with the struggle of Puerto Rican Nationalist brothers and sisters we say the reaction, as revolutionaries, same: "The country which occupies us and attacks our combatants, which imprisons and principally, as Communists, represses us; which denies our

We also have the revolutionary responsibility to fight against Anti-Sovietism as the principal characteristic of anti-communism in the present period. Not because we share a form of Sectarianism, such as the Party sectarianism which brings the Chinese, Albanians, and Soviets to fratricidal struggle for the hegemony of party blocks, but because today Imperialist attacks led by Thatcher and Reagan against working class interests around the world are disguised as anti-Sovietism, not anti-China nor anti-Albania.

Let us know our enemy! The Soviets have supported the struggle for independence the Yankees reject it. Who is our friend and who is our enemy?

Over and over again we have pointed out to our comrades in the North American Left the truth of a statement made by an African comrade in a conference: "It is not the bombs, arms, money and overall support of the Soviet Union which causes the reign of terror and repression in our country. It is the bombs, arms, money and support of Yankee Imperialism which maintain dictatorships, repression and terror in our semi-colonial and

HISTORY IS HISTORY

by Juan Antonio
Corretjer

The FBI was responsible for the repression unleashed against the students on November 25th, 1981. That they were responsible was never the question. What we asked ourselves was why on this day. It seemed the wrong time. The answer can be placed in the logic of the facts. Theory corroborates this.

The FBI came to Puerto Rico to persecute independentistas. Today, 46 years later, this is still their reason for existence in Puerto Rico. History is history.

The FBI came to Puerto Rico in 1935, when the Nationalist Party was reaching its height. They came to organize the destruction of the Nationalist Party. Their first steps showed the path they would follow. Their first specific plan was the imprisonment of Albizu Campos.. This was public knowledge by the beginning of 1936.

On March 4, 1936 Albizu Campos stated to the press that he had information in-

dicating "there is a gang of federal police with orders to arrest me." These "federal police" were the FBI. The tool chosen by the FBI to imprison Albizu Campos was the Federal Grand Jury. Their first act of aggression against the Nationalist Movement was my imprisonment of one year for contempt. Albizu and other leaders were then immediately arrested and we were all tried for Seditious Conspiracy and sent to Atlanta, Georgia on June 6, 1937. However, between April and August 1936, all the accused were held as prisoners.

Also in 1937 the attorney Julio Pinto Gandia and a substantial number of the Party's leaders, all persecuted by the FBI, were also sent to prison. By 1940 the FBI was directing its attacks against draft resisters. The third leadership body of the Nationalist Party, headed by Ramon Medina Ramirez, and Rafael Lopes Rosas was sent to Federal Prison, persecuted by the FBI

Medina Ramirez and his companero had barely warmed their jail cots before the FBI was already pursuing more leaders of the Nationalist Party. Julio de Santiago, interim president of the Nationalist Party, Paulino Castro and others were sent to federal prison by the FBI. Next, rank and file members were sent to prison.

Without the pretext of the Second World War, and the possession of a monopoly on atomics, yankee militarism prepared to dominate the world during the next 100 years. The "American century" is what imperialist pedantry called the grotesque nightmare which would soon cause them to lose their atomic monopoly and their ability to blackmail the world; it stopped them from winning the Korean War and caused them to lose in Viet Nam.

But in Puerto Rico the federal police continued doing their dirty work. In 1948 they imprisoned a group of young leaders of the Nationalist Party. Among them was Rafael Cancel Miranda. In the middle of the 1950's they went beyond the ranks of the Nationalist Party to persecute and

imprison members of another Independence organization: The People's Union, whose center was in Guaynabo and which preceded what would later become the Unitary Patriotic Action and the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence. A leader of this organization was arrested in Rio Piedras by F.B.I. agents and thrown into federal dungeons. But I should point out that in 1954 the leadership of the Communist Party was arrested—although not a single supposedly subversive fact could be found, except for the harassment by the FBI of imposing judicial terrorism in our country through the Smith McCarren Law. And in 1969, they forced the arrest of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist League.

I reviewed this rapidly in order to substantiate my assertion that in Puerto Rico no government organization (the police); no rightwing clandestine organization carries out any violent acts against individuals or independence groups without the direct or indirect consent of the FBI. They are in charge of the police repression against independentistas.

On February 23, 1936 Colonel Elisha Frances Rigg, murderer of the Nationalists in Rio Piedras was killed by our glorious heroes Elias Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado. Washington, wanting to get out from under the murder, offered the position of Police Chief to Colonel Luis Raul Esteves, so he could continue with the massacre of the Nationalists. Esteves refused it. The person who accepted, was born in Puerto Rico and a supporter of Franco and of Spain; look for his name on the boots of General Winship and in the blood on the streets of Ponce.

It was believed that that person replaced Colonel Riggs. Although he represented and would carry out "orders from above" in Washington he was the replacement for the dead man. Today we know this was not true. The real replacement for Colonel Riggs was the FBI. Through the years the FBI took control of the Police in Puerto Rico. The highest ranking officer of the colonial police is a subordinate of the FBI. Therefore, it was the FBI which decided to carry out the repressive action in the city and campus of Rio Piedras on November 25th.

We ask ourselves, why? It did not appear to be an opportune moment for U.S. Imperialism to politically benefit from the attack. A simulated liberalism would have been more prudent, considering that the case of Puerto Rico was being debated in the U.S. at that moment, to mention only one factor.

But there is another factor to consider which sheds light on the matter.

Theoretically and historically, the advancement of statehood throughout the U.S.'s entire history of acquiring territory, territory which was not part of the Federal State since its original constitution, has generated repression. Just ask the inhabitants of the so-called Southwest of the U.S. occupied Mexico, where every day 'anglos' kill at least 1 Chicano. Just for being a Chicano. As the 21st century comes closer, the day when U.S. Imperialism loses its territory approaches.

Now we can see how Reagan's cannibalistic nature planned to make a very formal, public demonstration promoting Statehood for Puerto Rico. Is there a strike at the University of Rio Piedras? Good, that's the excuse. Blows,

shots, tear gas against the students. And just so there is no doubt that this intention is widespread, repression is carried out up and down the streets of Rio Piedras.

Meanwhile, two simultaneous events took place—both strongly opposing Imperialist goals. The U.S. privately consults the governments of practi-

tionary leadership, are not led by routine people. They are extraordinary people who avoid the routine which causes an extravagance of idiocy in such situations as Puerto Rico.

The wooden horse of the F.B.I., limping, puts its tail between its legs. The colonial Supreme Court orders Miro Montilla. He obeys. The situation becomes calm. They want to return to the routine which only favors the system.

But the extraordinary will happen. It is the nature of the situation in Puerto Rico.



*Taken from EL NUEVO DIA,
December 28, 1981*

cally all the nations in the World and their plans for statehood are rejected by practically all the leaders they consulted. Reagan's horse slips and is reined in.

Here, in Puerto Rico, something important happens. The Macheteros blow up the Electric Power station in the Condado district. The F.B.I., routine men to the end, send the riot troops to the University to face another March 11th.

However, the Macheteros, like all the clandestine revolu-

TO OUR COMPATRIOTS LIVING SOUTH OF THE IMPOSED BORDER

The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.) would like to take this opportunity to explain to our Mexican brothers our political position on the colonization and the conditions of life of 18 million Mexicans who live in the U.S., or rather occupied Mexico.

We are a national anti-imperialist organization of Chicano/Mexicanos and Puerto Ricans, the 2 largest Spanish speaking populations in the Yankee Federation.

In the states today known as Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, the Chicano-Mexicano people have developed a long history of struggle against our principal common enemy: NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

It is a struggle in which outstanding revolutionaries like Luis Jr. Martinez, Ricardo Falcon, and Carlos Zapata were persecuted and assassinated

for the "crime" of wanting to change the miserable conditions in which the Chicano/Mexicanos live as a result of the exploitation they are subjected to by the U.S. government.

Our national identity has been so destroyed by U.S. Imperialism that many of us do not even want to consider ourselves Mexicans. These contradictions, created by the process of assimilation and an inferiority complex, cause us to call ourselves Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans and Hispanic-Americans, etc.

The height of this assimilation is when we even change our names and only want to speak English. This is what we call Colonialism and it has a single intent: to destroy our national identity, our consciousness and our role in the historic development of humanity.

Since 1836, Mexico has been the victim of multiple injustices and crimes by the

U.S.

Along with this gradual usurpation we encounter a psychological domination, whose objective is to uproot a people, as part of a process of implanting a "colonial mentality" by means of terror, racism and denigration. Racism is the crutch on which Imperialism supports itself, in the era of its decline, which it uses to divide the working people.

people.

It is this mental border which calls us pachucos, sell-outs, yankeefied, etc. or thieves, beggars, good-for-nothings, which must be destroyed.

The situation of the Chicano/Mexicano people in occupied Mexico is characterized by functional illiteracy, physical and social sickness, a denial of our labor rights, out-



Although the north american working class is exploited by the Imperialist system, few workers recognize this and therefore do not support the liberation struggles being developed by third world people in the U.S..

The physical border which divides our people is obviously not as strong as claimed, since our people cross it daily, in spite of the Migra (Immigration), and the roundups. However, what is even more dangerous is the "Mental Border" which divides the Mexican

right repression, a lack of education, jobs, medical services, housing, transportation, etc.

Social Services, supposedly established to help the poor, in other words, the Chicano/Mexicanos, Black, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans have actually helped U.S. Imperialism by stifling and containing movements in the 60's.

Our people have the natural right to seek and establish a society where the Mexican people enjoy what we

produce, as well as create a society where the exploitation of man by man is ended forever. To recognize the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is to legitimize imperialism.

Thus, the goal of our movement in Mexico, to organize the vanguard in our occupied



territory and to achieve the Socialist Reunification of our Nation.

Because of this the yankee State has organized the Federal Grand Jury, to legalize and justify the imprisonment of members and leaders of the M.L.N.

The Grand Jury is nothing more than a tool used at opportune moments by the F.B.I., C.I.A. and Justice Department to dismember our organization.

We are being investigated because we have unity, based on revolutionary principles, with leading organizations in Puerto Rico and revolutionary Mexican organizations, like the Committee for Popular

Defense. We support the position of non-cooperation with the Federal Grand Jury even though 5 of our compañeros have been subpoenaed to appear in New York City -- which means 18 months or more in jail.

The Grand Jury is used when harassment, persecution and intimidation no longer work.

Therefore, we denounce the U.S. Imperialist government as an oppressor, exploiter and repressor of our people.

FROM CLANDESTINITY

★ **FACE TO FACE WITH THE
GRAND JURY**

★ **CLANDESTINE STRUGGLE,
MASS STRUGGLE....**

★ **THE P.R.T.P. ON POLAND**

★ **CROSSROADS AND EXIT**

FACE TO FACE WITH THE GRAND JURY

In the magazine *Pensamiento Critico* (Year 4, Num. 26 - Oct.-Nov. 1981) the question of the Grand Jury is posed once again. The magazine reaffirms its original position that like every self-respecting independentista it will refuse to submit in any way to a subpoena issued by the group of prison guards disguised as a "Jury." This means going directly from court to a U.S. jail. The editorial was written just before one of the magazine's directors, lawyer Jorge Farinacci was called to appear before the Grand Jury. To this day, Farinacci has not been found by the federal agents and the F.B.I.

So far we have no objections to the editorial written by our fraternal colleague. but already in the middle of this important opinion, there is a statement which not only appears dangerous to us, but also requires a denial by us. This, is precisely what the editorial states, and is exactly the point we wish to discuss: We quote, literally, the editorial in *Pensamiento Critico*:

"On the other hand, respected companeros, as we exchange ideas regarding the tasks confronting us in view of the growing use of the Grand Jury in Puerto Rico, we perceive the need to discuss and reevaluate the position taken by the Independence Movement in the face of this Institution. To sum up, although we recognize the sinister characteristics of the institution; it is presently assuming different forms, since the subpoenas issued do not call on people to testify regarding any information they might or might not have not on any labor leader or person in particular. They are only calling on people to show the financial records of a union, give hair samples, finger-prints, hand-writing samples, participate in a line-up and other gestures easily obtained by other methods used by the police for identification. Or, in the case of the unions, by asking other government agencies for the annual reports the unions submit. In other words, the companeros point out, the

only goal of the Grand Jury is to imprison labor leaders, their lawyers and other participants in our struggle without having to ask them a single question about their political, professional or personal activity — since they lack any evidence with which to accuse them of any crime whatsoever.” (End of Quote).

We hasten to disagree with the position expressed by the editor in *Pensamiento Critico*.



It represents backing down, pacification and acquiescence. It represents the only victory achieved by the Grand Jury since its first aggression 45 years ago. It is a corrupting influence for the entire move-

ment of resistance to imperialism. We would like to reaffirm that resistance to the Grand Jury must measure up to the precedent set by those who have refused until now to cooperate with the Grand Jury — those like Carlos Noya and Norberto Cintron Fiallo, who are still prisoners.

We state that one of the direct goals of the Grand Jury is to penetrate the national spirit in order to periodically take the patriotic temperature. The suggestions of the “respected companeros” who wrote the editorial in *Pensamiento Critico* are a public testimony given to the Grand Jury of a new yankee-like understanding of personal dignity operating in its proponents. But the Grand Jury should not be fooled. You can expect a Puerto Rican - style response, unlike any dreamed of.

It saddens us, that *Pensamiento Critico* does not suggest a single political solution to the cowardly proposals which their “respected companeros” make to them.

The truth is that we have been far too tolerant of the Grand Jury. It is unfortunately true that we tend to judge the criminal pro-yankees who

make up the Grand Jury merely as opportunist, retired government employees who are taking advantage of the situation to add some funds to their pension or bored housewives who participate in the Grand Jury in order to escape the tediousness of their homes. This is not at all the case. After 45 years of Grand Jury experience and with all the struggles the Independence Movement has had with the Grand Jury, no one goes to the Grand Jury without knowing they are there to send compatriots to jail. They are retired people, opportunists and bored house wives. But they are also all shameless, and a group of traitors who must be made to understand that they are not fooling us.

The weaker our response is to the Grand Jury, the harsher the Grand Jury will be against the independence, union and socialist leadership. After the "respected companeros" of *Pensamiento Critico* achieve a weakening of Grand Jury resistance, (which they will not achieve) they will ask the subpoenees to lick the boots of the prosecutors. It is unbelievable that the "respected companeros" of *Pensamiento*

Critico believe that once they have fulfilled the humiliating demands of the Grand Jury, that they would not be asked to testify. From now on we must make the Jury, both men and women, understand that they will be treated as what they are: traitors and infected rats who deserve a diet of electric paste.



*Taken from El VOLUNTARIO
organ of the Organizacion de
Voluntarios por la Revolucion
Puertorriquena, Oct./Nov. 1981*

CLANDESTINE STRUGGLE, MASS STRUGGLE....

Taken from PENSAMIENTO CRITICO, August/Sept. 1981

(Ed. note: The military operation carried out by the Ejercito Popular Boricua (EPB-Macheteros) against the Muniz Air Base last January 12th, 1981, has been a topic of wide-spread discussion in Puerto Rico and abroad. In the article below, which we received in our mailbox at the end of June, the PRTP-EPB presents their political-military conception and criteria for clandestine organization and mass struggle.

OUR POLITICAL-MILITARY CONCEPTION AND MUNIZ AIR BASE

Our political-military conception of the party is the cornerstone of our politics. Many companeros, when they refer to our organization, focus on the armed practice of the EPB, separating it from the PRTP (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Puertorriquenos - Revolutionary Party

of the Puerto Rican Workers), or even worse, don't take into account the existence of the PRTP, which gives a totally false vision of our organization and goals.

For us, the building of the Revolutionary Party of the Puerto Rican Workers is the principal task of the moment. This party must be a clandestine party of cadre, led by the working class and its ideology, and closely linked to the popular masses. We understand that the Party will be created in the heat of the people's economic, social, democratic and political struggles against yanqui imperialism and its lackeys. We do not attempt to assert whether the party will be created through the consolidation of one of the patriotic and revolutionary organizations currently existing or through the fusion or unification of several or all of them. We believe that the process of struggle will determine how it is created. What is truly important is to work on both fronts, with the correct line, to ad-

vance the process and not to idealize or have misconceptions about it.

On the other hand, we understand that posing questions regarding whether something would happen before or after the creation of the party is not productive and the real difficulty lies in doing and advancing all possible revolutionary work which advances the construction of the Party and the revolutionary process. Concretely, we give maximum priority to the development of mass work to internal consolidation, to moving closer politically to other revolutionaries, and to the work of preparing and executing actions of armed propaganda.

We have said that our principal task is the creation of a Revolutionary Party of the Puerto Rican Workers, which is clandestine, consists of cadres, led by the proletariat and its ideology and closely linked to the popular masses. No member of the revolutionary left would attempt to refute the last three characteristics, which we understand are fundamental. However, we know that other patriotic and revolutionary organizations don't

share our criteria on the organizational importance of clandestinity in political-organizational tasks. We understand that this is the most polemical aspect of our politics and one we must elaborate further.

Clandestinity is, for us, the base on which we establish all the political organization of the Party. And, as the revolution is a product of organization, it is illusory to talk of independence or revolution based fundamentally on legality. This is so, because we understand that yankee Imperialism will never hand us the independence of Puerto Rico on a silver platter, since this would go against its geo-political, economic and military interests. On the contrary, we already have more than enough of our own and other people's experience, independent of any analysis on the nature of Imperialism and the State, to know that they will oppose our true independence with tooth and nail.

Once we understand this basic truth, it is essential, both for our survival and to obtain indispensable tactical advantages against a more powerful enemy, that the organizing work leading to the achievement of our national liberation

be carried out from clandestinity. In our work of politically organizing for independence we can not deceive ourselves, nor the people, as regards legality. Thus, for us the public political organization or what is commonly known as a "legal organization" is just as mistaken as is the idea of achieving national liberation through electoral participation.

For the PRTP it is a question of principle to educate the working class and the people in general about the basic idea that in order to eliminate capitalist exploitation and to achieve our independence violence is the fundamental path. Regardless of which stage the process is in, it will always be necessary to use it and we must exercise it. Any organization which calls itself revolutionary must be an enemy of the oppressor system, in both theory and practice, as regards the utilization of violence. Those who speak of "armed struggle" from legal positions, are either playing at struggling for independence and the revolution or they are waiting for the popular insurrection without pointing out the way with arms. Concretely, we can not

talk about independence and revolution, and be consistent with the practice this requires, without being persecuted and hit by the enemy.

Conceiving the party fundamentally as a clandestine one, does not mean that all organizing work with the masses develops clandestinely. We understand that legality can and must be used for the economic, democratic and social struggles. Our members (not our fighters) openly participate in these struggles but we still continually take into consideration the repressive conditions of the so-called "democracy" we live in; and that even the struggle for the most basic rights, such as forming unions, is repressed with every means available. It is one thing to use legality and it is another to be a legal organization. There are tactical questions for each conception. What is strategic for us is that we must swim like fish in the water of our people's struggles, while we as a party and organization of struggle, in the struggle for liberation must keep the most rigorous clandestinity.

The supposed advantages of legality are only mirages or Siren's songs which deceive the

revolutionary organization that submits its political organization to legality by functioning openly. At best, you can achieve governmental control, as in Chile, Indonesia and Guatemala and then... In other cases the political-military organization necessary to achieve, eventually, the overthrow of the State and the defeat of imperialism is postponed indefinitely - for claiming a lack of conditions, immaturity of the stage, etc. Nevertheless, the clandestine revolutionary organization can use legality and the breadth of economic, democratic and social struggles to organize the masses and strengthen themselves without falling into enemy traps, or, at least, reducing the risk.

Now, the process of forming this revolutionary Party of the Workers, for which we are working, has as its principal task of the moment, to work with the masses, giving priority to the working class. This is because, as we see it, the greatest weakness of the revolutionary movement is its relative lack of connection to and influence among the masses. This means working in all the economic, democratic

and social struggles of the people, with the goal of improving their living conditions, their degree of organization and raising their consciousness. Revolutionary cadres must be formed among the masses, and our commitment tempered. We must learn among the masses and confront theory with practice, to elevate their level of ideological development. Although we understand that it is fundamentally through this work that the party will be strengthened and protected, this does not mean that we give more importance to party work in the mass front than to the development of the front itself. Any position which is not a matter of principles, which goes against the mass front, in the long or short term will have negative results. After all, what is the point of being in a front of struggle, if the only participants are independentistas or if the front loses its ability to serve the masses? Struggling incorrectly or inopportunistly for apparently vanguard positions, will result in the masses rejecting any political attempt which goes beyond the healthy reaction of disgust with politicking and sectarianism.

This brings us to the topic of unity between the patriotic and revolutionary sectors. Next to mass work and internal consolidation, the coming at this time and be sure that they are well taken, without the greatest importance for our organization we don't insist on the creation of one prior to the creation of another, nor can we predict whether the formation of a party will be the product of the fusion of organizations or the consolidation of one organization. History will indicate which is the path we will all walk on. Nevertheless, we feel that it is more important to work for unity than to issue calls for it. Total or abstract unity is impossible, but we can stop making negative criticisms, maintain ideological debates in appropriate forums and look for the points which unite us, take every step towards unity at this time and be sure that they are well taken, without deluding ourselves or claiming to go beyond what is possible at the time in order to avoid future disappointments. We can not try to achieve hegemony and we must recognize that we all make mistakes and we must value their rectification. We understand that the

greatest impediments for greater communication are sectarianism and hegemonism.

Regarding the National Liberation Front, or whatever we call the unity of the patriotic forces, and the building of the working class party, our politics are clear. We refer to the words of the unforgettable revolutionary Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, during a debate in the Worker's Party of Viet Nam on the priority of the Party and the Front, "Without the Party, who will create the Front? Without the Front, who will protect the Party?"

If it is true that the need to work for the creation of a Revolutionary Party in Puerto Rico is recognized by various organizations, we also realize that different views exist regarding the character of this party. This is reflected in political projections on a short and medium-term basis, and forms or methods of work towards its development.

For the PRTP, the objective of destroying the capitalist and colonial state through armed struggle, calls for preparatory tasks and permanent actions for the revolutionary movement, independent of the degree of priority which they

can take at different stages of the struggle. It is the political period which determines the form of struggle at each stage.

The revolutionary movement can not lose sight of the principle that we must fight with arms in hand, not only on paper, to win the definitive liberation of our country and the installation of a truly popular democracy.

The revolutionary movement generally recognizes that we still find ourselves at a disadvantage facing the enemy. The correlation of forces is unfavorable for the revolutionary movement at the current time. *We are in the stage of strategic defense in regards to Imperialism.*

Following this principle, and using clandestinity as a basic defensive measure, and conscious of the long and patient process which clandestinity implies for the task of organizing, we work to create the conditions needed to carry out armed actions of propaganda and to obtain social demands, when the political situation demands it. In the current period, military work of the PRTP-EPB, principally implies the preparation of conditions to carry out armed

propaganda. To elaborate publicly on what this preparation means in our concrete work, would be improper and a political-military error.

We would like to clarify what **Armed Propaganda** is. Armed propaganda has two sides to it: to act in defense of the demands of the working class and the popular masses or a sector of them so they will identify the party and army as theirs and second, demonstrate that it is possible to militarily organize ourselves to struggle for our Independence and Liberation and to win! For the PRTP, it is necessary that, although we are at a disadvantage in relation to the enemy, they will not remain unpunished. In other words, although strategically we are on the defensive, it is not passive, rather we can pass to a tactical offensive at a given time to point out the path and to plant hope in the struggle of our people.

It is within the general framework of these political views towards the party, mass work, the Left and armed struggle, that the political leadership of the PRTP analyzes the current period and gives out instructions to the EPB

fighters to carry out the action Pitirre II at Muniz Air Base. For the PRTP, the period was defined by several factors which made up the framework of political conditions which made Pitirre II both necessary and desirable.

The revolutionary movement in its totality was in a relatively weak situation as a result of the limited tie and influence between the revolutionary class and its allies, its organic dispersion and its work methods. In short, the revolutionary movement was incapable of clearly pointing out a political alternative to the patriotic movement and the people.

The patriotic movement, in general, also suffered from the same deficiencies, with the added dead weight of its electoral participation. We anticipated another huge dosage of disillusionment and frustration in this sector once the November 1980 elections were over.

The popular masses were demonstrating a growing disagreement, which could later be partially guaranteed through the numbers of electoral abstentions, but were unable to channel this rejection on to envision an alternative. pre-

cisely as a result of the weakness of the patriotic and revolutionary movements. Faced with this dilemma, even when considering the growing disagreement the people remained in the political and organizational shadow of the colonial, bourgeois parties.

On the other hand, the Imperialist annexationist offensive continued, although with some tactical adjustments in response to the internal situation. The Reagan-Bush and Republican Party victory, both from the sector of imperialism which see Statehood/Annexation as their strategy for Puerto Rico, indicated that the annexationist's offensive would continue despite the "deficit" suffered in their plans for a 1982 "plebescite."

To this national political panorama, must be added the conflicts of the international situation, both in the Caribbean and globally, the growing danger of a Third World War.

All this demanded that a real protest to the politiking, colonialism, annexation, genocide against the Salvadorean people, and the danger of nuclear extermination be presented to the people. It was absolutely necessary to pro-

pagandize the concept of revolutionary armed struggle, to the people. Although, at the time, it could not be presented as a more concrete organizational alternative, at least it would establish the revolutionary movement as a force and factor to be respected. No leaflet, document or demonstration within the patriotic and revolutionary movement could have effectively projected this. Faced with this, an action like Pitirre II would fulfill our goals. There was no doubt as to the propaganda impact it would have, since we knew that so many yanqui planes had not been destroyed in a single action since the Vietnamese War of Liberation and the TET military offensive.

The most important factor to consider, the political climate, was given, since the degree of acceptance, neutrality and disagreement by the masses and other organized political sectors, and the possibilities of isolation and/or repression by the enemy gave us a favorable balance and tipped the scales in favor of the operation.

The masses rejection of the colonial politiking, the anti-

Romero and anti-annexation feeling, the stagnation and frustration of the organized, patriotic movement guaranteed support of massive sympathy. The scope of the action guaranteed respect and the propagation of the message. At the same time, the regime could not create adverse public reactions in order to isolate us, nor did it have the political climate in which it could carry out indiscriminate repression of the people.

We anticipated, more for security than ideology, that the leadership of Left organizations, with the possible exception of the Nationalist Party and the Socialist League, would not openly support the action carried out by the Macheteros.

Even with this political climate, the decision was not made lightly. Although Imperialism has always repressed liberation struggles, not only in Puerto Rico, but in all the world, we were operating from within, in what they consider their territory, and they could take it out on left companeros. Nevertheless, we were also aware of the need to present the masses with a revolutionary alternative. All victorious revo-

THE MACHETEROS ON POLAND

PRTP-EPB

*Press Communique
San Juan, Puerto Rico
Dec. 28, 1981*

The Republic of Poland is immersed in an acute crisis and potentially threatened with a civil war and foreign intervention into its internal problems. At the moment, this intervention has been expressed in an underhanded way.

The PRTP, in the face of these events, denounces North American imperialism for its counter-revolutionary provocation and supports the Polish workers in their perseverance to achieve greater victories for the Polish working class and the entire working class worldwide, opening the way for the exercise of true proletarian democracy.

The demands of the Polish workers under the prevailing conditions are legitimate. They are, in essence, struggles against corruption, and demands for greater participation in government affairs. They are just demands that

point toward the effective concretization of a proletarian democracy, which is nothing more than the maximum aspiration of salaried workers.

Intervention by North American imperialism in the internal affairs of the Polish people through the CIA threatens to hold back the revolutionary development of the Polish working class. The advances for proletarian democracy won by the Polish people since the end of World War II and during the recent months by the Solidarity movement have been frustrated by the provocations of the U.S. government, which has moved those leaders under the control of the CIA in a reactionary and completely demagogic way to make motions to confront the government and threaten it with a supposed "seizure of power."

Events during the past months have clearly demon-

strated, that the Polish government would prefer to use negotiation not military force to resolve the problem. This is particularly true because Solidarity showed itself to be a genuine mass movement whose demands never ceased to be of high revolutionary and class content. The counter-revolutionary provocation of North American imperialism produced an immediate reaction on the part of the Polish government. Without a doubt, Poland was being taken over by total chaos through the militarization; the application of Martial Law and the creation of a "Council for National Salvation" were to be expected.

The Washington government and its unconditional Puerto Rican supporters make an enormous show of cynicism and hypocrisy in saying that "they support the Polish workers," particularly when they are totally incapable of applying the minimum demands of the Polish workers to the workers in Puerto Rico. The history of imperialism in relation to the people is of support for the most murderous and counter-revolutionary regimes in existence.

How can Mr. Reagan speak

of support for the Polish workers when he is the one directly responsible for the murder of more than 30,000 workers and peasants in El Salvador, supporting the Military Junta that governs that country and the Martial Law that has ruled there for years. Isn't this perhaps a demonstration of the greatest hypocrisy to say he supports Solidarity in Poland while in his own country they mercilessly fire all the air traffic controllers when they demand some benefits? And, of even more significance, how is it possible to speak of supporting the victories of the Polish workers when Mr. Reagan himself is the one most responsible for unemployment in his country, for the cuts in funding for the dispossessed classes, and when any move for more workers participation in the administration of industry in the U.S. is totally annihilated and repressed for being communist?

The history of imperialism throughout the world is a history of support for the most brutal regimes — one of installing puppet regimes, of maintaining in power dictators like: Trujillo, Batista, Pinochet, Stroessner, Somoza and

other craftsmen of assassination and death. How can they speak of support for the Polish workers when they are capable of engineering support for the Duvalier dynasty on whose shoulders fall the worst crimes that could be committed against any people?

If the hypocrisy of the Reagan government is truly repugnant, worse is the babble of the local Puerto Rican parrots, led by the governor of Puerto Rico, who have on their hands the famous Cerro Maravilla case, the mass firing of workers in the administration and public services, the National Guard for corruption with their Guillemards, Venon Nazarios, Sagardias and other "public servants", the attacks and repression against the UTIER workers (who only demanded better salaries, not administrative participation); the negative actions in Villa Sin Miedo; and, of even greater repressive impact: their heartless policy against the University students; as well as the inconceivable creation of concentration camps, now in use against our Haitian brothers and sisters on our soil - just to mention the most recent cases. We Puerto Rican

workers have to analyze the experience suffered in Poland and also understand the intentions of imperialism to apply a similar policy in this country, for the benefit of our own revolutionary development.

North American imperialism has its reasons to instigate problems in Poland, and they have nothing to do with the rights of the Polish workers. Their intention is purely and simply counter-revolutionary and is tied to the present crisis of the world capitalist system and of North American imperialism in particular. Their objective is to deepen the world crisis, to threaten a World War III, to demoralize the peoples struggling for socialism - all to open a breach in the confrontation with the Soviet Union, to revise their economic system and save it from possible destruction. That is the reason for the theatrical threats by Mr. Reagan and his crocodile tears.

We Puerto Rican workers will not let them deceive us. We have to continue our growing struggle to win our right to build a free, independent and neutral homeland,

STRUGGLE CONT.

lutionary parties, in the U.S.S.R., China, Viet Nam, Cuba, and Nicaragua were formed not in the absence of repression, but under conditions of extreme repression.

There was another important factor, the situation of our brothers and sisters in El Salvador. Our patriotic movement and cause has enjoyed a great deal of solidarity from the peoples of the world, and we felt responsible to fulfill our share of proletarian internationalism. To the degree with which we could strongly strike our common enemy, we would give the most valuable support to the FMLN and FDR companeros in El Salvador.

This is the path we have designed and these are the tasks which we have imposed on ourselves: to fight along with the masses for their demands as the principal task to create and consolidate their organization; develop patriotic and revolutionary unity; and create and consolidate our organization as a contribution to the building of the revolutionary party of the Puerto Rican Workers.

POLAND CONT.

as well as our rights as Puerto Rican workers. We call on all the workers and unemployed in our country to demonstrate our support for the Polish workers by struggling for the same demands in our country, struggling against unemployment for a greater proportion of the fruits of production, and for a greater participation in the administration of all the industries of our country. Let us do it, and we will see how soon the hypocrisy of this government ends!

FOR A FREE AND
NEUTRAL PUERTO RICO!
FOR A TRUE WORKERS'
DEMOCRACY!
FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

CROSSROADS AND EXIT

From materials to construct motors for B-52 bombers to materials to make bayonets, the U.S. depends on the massive importation of vital materials for national defense from politically unstable countries of the Third World or from the Communist bloc.

Key members in Reagan's cabinet fear that a global crisis would cut the flow of these imports, thus seriously affecting the efforts of the federal government to stockpile these strategically indispensable materials.

In order to minimize the effects of a sudden cut in the flow of these materials, the federal government began to stockpile them in the 50's. Nevertheless, critics argued that the program has failed and is obsolete, since it provides less than half of the needed materials. They attribute this to the fact that originally the stockpiling was designed for a war of five years waged with the technology of the fifties. Today they have many materials of doubtful application to wars in the current period.

The plan currently used for stockpiling assumes a war of 3 years between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.--and their respective allies--using all the weapons in their arsenal except nuclear ones. This change in planning has led members of Congress and industrial experts to predict that the import crisis--called a "war of resources" by the Secretary of State, Alexander Haig--will alter the policies of the state in diverse areas.

Let us examine some dimensions of the problem:

— Almost all the metal used in the modern construction of jet propelled planes or U.S. tanks comes from imported alloys. Only Siberia and South Africa supply these metals needed for the construction of weapons: 96% of the chromium, 97% of the vanadium, 65% of the cobalt and 80% of the manganese.

— The stockpile of these and other resources, 93 strategic resources in all, is only 48% of the amount needed for a conventional war. For example the U.S. has only 17% of the

titanium needed if the U.S.S.R. were to halt its exports.

— The motor of a modern jet contains the following: 5,000 pounds of titanium, 5,000 of chrome, 900 of cobalt, 200 of nickel. The U.S. imports 35% of its titanium from Canada and Australia, 92% of the chrome from South Africa, the U.S.S.R., Zimbabwe and Turkey, 97% of the cobalt from Zaire, Belgium, Zambia and Finland and 77% of its nickel from Canada, New Caledonia and the Dominican Republic.

The cobalt, chromium and titanium supplies are far below the amount currently fixed by the stockpile system established by the General Services Administration, the agency which provides space for the 116 stockpiles scattered throughout the country.

Haig and other experts denounce the military action by the U.S.S.R. and Cuba in Africa, South America and the Caribbean as part of a plan to cut the flow of strategic resources towards the U.S. In order to stop this supposed plan, military and industrial proponents of a reform in the stockpiling system are pressuring for the opening of new

mines, including new underwater mining, in which the Caribbean represents one of the greatest reserves of strategic resources.

The underwater reserves in the Caribbean are very important from the strategic point of view, since they consist of the dispersion, on the ocean floor, of nodules of manganese and the other strategic metals.

Nevertheless, no other mining activity is as vulnerable to political fluctuations as is underwater mining, since these deposits are found in international waters and the U.S. has prevented the approval of a U.N. agreement on the division of these resources. Thus it is necessary that the base of operations of this particularly vulnerable advanced technology be in a region politically and militarily controlled by the U.S.

Puerto Rico has been described as the natural place to carry out this activity for two reasons. The U.S. presence and military domination of Puerto Rico guarantee the operation of this new technology. But also huge deposits of strategic metals have also been found in the area of Maunabo which, together with the nickel of Mayaguez, could

be used to round out the mining operation and make it more economical for the multinationals involved.

All of the above demonstrates how the strategic value of Puerto Rico has drastically increased in the last five years. It is no longer just a geographically important point for the U.S. Navy; it is also becoming a center of major importance to obtain and to transport strategic metals for North American war industries.

Nevertheless, in spite of the new strategic importance of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican clandestine movement is relatively isolated from the warlike currents which are antagonizing the U.S.

Only through actions which make the strategic position of the U.S. more vulnerable in the face of its increasingly antagonistic enemies, will we achieve international recognition of the importance the Puerto Rican clandestine movement has as a rearguard from within international imperialism.

This is a normal strategic position within the Leninist theory of imperialism. We point it out in response to the mistaken line of the most

ponderous centers of the socialist world, Peking as well as Moscow, which underestimates the military role of the proletarian revolution in a place as important as Puerto Rico. We do not put this forward as a requirement, but rather as a clarification of why we have chosen to distance ourselves from an obsolete line; of a consciousness of our role independent and still internationally coherent, but with a coherency which will save us from any possible repetition of 1898.



*Taken from El VOLUNTARIO
organ of the Organización de
Voluntarios por la Revolución
Puertorriqueña, Oct./Nov. 1981*

DOCUMENT

ON THE EXPLOITATION OF PUERTO RICO'S MINERAL RESOURCES

— *An interview with two engineers from the Cultural Arts Workshop in Adjuntas, Puerto Rico.*

Q: Could you give a brief description of the situation of mineral resources in Puerto Rico, and the strategy of the U.S. regarding economic development in Puerto Rico, Plan 2020 and the Caribbean?

A: The factors that are impelling economic development based on copper mining are the following: first, the failure of the entire economy based on the petrochemical industry. All the factors that made this type of economy viable have failed; therefore this has created an internal economic crisis in the colony, which has obliged the government to search for alternatives to sustain itself politically and economically. All of this is from a point of view internal to Puerto Rico. There are also external factors: as international politics become tenser

every day, as war comes closer, the U.S. needs a whole gamut of strategic minerals it does not possess. Some of these are in Puerto Rico. This is an additional factor in their attempt to push mineral exploitation. Beyond this, in the central area of the Atlantic Ocean they have discovered deposits of manganese, also a strategic mineral. The U.S. intends to exploit the riches of the ocean beds. They intend to use Puerto Rico as a base of operations for this mining, basically because Puerto Rico is politically convenient. This also has military implications, because the presence of this industry in the ocean guarantees them control of maritime routes in the Caribbean. This is also part of the Reagan policy for the Caribbean: he plans to extract certain minerals from

some of the countries in the Caribbean Basin to refine them in Puerto Rico. All of these factors join together and push the development of mining in Puerto Rico.

Q: Could you describe the plan for mineral exploitation in the area of Adjuntas?

A: We are speaking of copper, because copper mining is the most dangerous type of mining that could happen in Puerto Rico, due to the geographic location of the deposits of copper. We are speaking of the very center of the island, the origin of a great part of the rivers carrying water to more than a million people. All these plans for copper mining began at the end of the 50s, in 1958 or 1959, through a prospecting expedition carried out by those companies, Amex and Kennecott. This process continued until 1965 more or less. Afterwards they continued exploring the length and 'breath' of the island, discovering various deposits — among them deposits of nickel. Deposits of nickel in the west of the island. These deposits constitute 40% of the reserves of nickel in territory controlled by the U.S. In add-

ition, in the region of Maunabo they have found deposits of iron, magnesium, chrome, cobalt and other strategic metals. But we give more emphasis, although everything is important, to copper mining, because this is what really endangers the integrity of our national territory. It is the mineral which the North American government is most pressured to exploit. It is the most immediate activity we believe will be carried out. We say copper mining is the most dangerous because the copper is in sulfarite form. This form when exposed to the atmosphere, would contaminate the water; there would be a huge effect of erosion since a great quantity of rain falls in the area. Therefore, copper mining is the most dangerous kind, beyond the fact that — being the first — it would facilitate the subsequent exploitation of all the rest of the mineral resources. Since nearly all of the minerals in Puerto Rico are non-ferrous, they fall in the same category of industry and therefore when a process of smelting and refining of copper is established, it would serve for the rest of the minerals or non-ferrous metals.

Q: To run these heavy industries will require greatly increased levels of electrical energy. How will Puerto Rico obtain the coal to produce this electricity?

A: In Puerto Rico there are no deposits of coal. This type of mineral deposit is found in geological strata of considerable age. It requires the formation of vegetable life that, after dying and being buried in the earth, takes millions and millions of years to be converted to coal. This is not the case in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico being a volcanic island, is geologically too young to form carbon. Now they are planning to bring the coal from the east coast of the U.S. and Columbia. Among the owners of this coal is Kennecott.

Q: Then Kennecott is going to be the owner of the coal and also of the mines?

A: Correct. Kennecott has an entire monopoly program.

Q: A movement has grown against this plan, for example in the part of Aguada, where the coal will be shipped in. The plan is to build a deep-

water port. Also in Adjuntas itself we have seen a movement grow against the exploitation of copper. Could you tell us how this movement has come about?

A: Yes, there was a plan to establish a coal-burning electrical generating plant in Aguada. But now the opposition has been so great that the government gave in and stopped immediate plans for construction. Of course, this does not resolve the long-term problem they have of establishing new generating plans. The present system, even though it actually has a surplus generating capacity, is not dependable because of poor maintenance. Every once in a while one of the turbines breaks down and there are blackouts. They want to resolve these problems by modifying the design of the boilers of the generating plants in Aguame. They would modify the boilers so that they would burn coal instead of burning oil derived from petroleum. But this is a short-term solution. In the long run they need to build new generating plants. This is why the plant to be constructed

in Aguada has not been completely dismissed. But the immediate danger has passed. In Adjuntas, because of the news of mining exploitation arriving in the town, a movement has developed in opposition, built by the Cultural Arts Workshop. This Workshop has taken the program to various towns, to different neighborhoods of Adjuntas. Their activities include a presentation at the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

We have participated in radio programs. We have participated in television programs. And this whole movement has generated a strong opposition to mineral exploitation in Adjuntas. We are now planning to extend it to all the other towns affected by it.

Q: How many people will be affected directly by these plans?

A: Strictly due to contamination of water resources there are more than a million people — a third of the total population of Puerto Rico. Indirectly practically all of Puerto Rico will be affected by contamination of the water, the air, the water

table. Our experience is that the movement against this project grows bigger every day.

Q: What has been the reaction of the people affected?

A: We have visited the rural areas in the mountains, and we have noted in the campesinos a strong attitude against mineral exploitation, especially in this area. In fact they put forward the need for organization, for violence, to stop these plans. They understand that through protests, marches, flyers they are not doing any good against mineral exploitation. And they go further than what is usually done. In fact they understand that we have to take all these steps because this is like a process; shouting and carrying the message. But we do believe that the people are prepared and ready for a struggle.

Q: Have the political parties in Puerto Rico taken positions against these plans?

A: No. The only political party that has taken any position has been the L.S.P. The colonialist parties, like the

PPD and the PNP, have assumed an attitude of absolute silence. This can be explained by the fact that both are accomplices to these projects. The PPD because they were the ones who designed Plan 2020 and the PNP because they are the ones who are now in power and are now negotiating with the mining companies. Both parties know that to make this all public would cause a tremendous commotion. Both parties are accomplices in maintaining an absolute silence. The PIP falls in this same category.

Q: What has been the position of the P.S.P.?

The PSP has taken the position "Puerto Rican mines or no mines." That means that they put forward the idea that mining activity can take place in the (future) Republic. That is, if there is a political change mineral exploitation can take place. Recently they have been closely associated with the PPD because of the promises floating around about a supposed associated republic and because of this theory that I explained earlier, they believe that mineral exploitation can be the

economic base for the Republic. All of this is part of a colonial conception of what a people are about. Subconsciously they believe that Puerto Rico doesn't have resources to develop itself as a Republic and that copper mining will come to be the salvation for the construction of the Republic. This is an entirely colonial conception because it liquidates completely the fact that the foundation of a people, the essential part of a nation, is its people and not the resources it might have. For example, Japan is today an industrial power of the first magnitude and it has no fundamental natural resources except its people, its labor power. And the PSP in a sense has boycotted all our propaganda, all our activities, because we maintain that in the foreseeable future these mines cannot be developed because the risk of destruction is so great that it endangers our territorial integrity and therefore our very nationhood.

We maintain that any economic activity has to benefit the people. If we support an economic activity that is going to destroy our territory

we cannot hope that the human beings — and therefore the essence of Puerto Rico, its population — can be developed as a nation while we are destroying the very territory from which we are growing.

Q: What has the armed clandestine movement done in relation to this question?

A: To my knowledge, I haven't read of anything. What is happening is that it is a young movement and we are just in the last months bringing out the information we have.

According to what I know they wrote a communique in respect to the use of non-renewable resources. Up to now, there has been no direct operation relative to this struggle.

Q: What can we do here in solidarity with your struggle?

A: I believe that in the stage we are at, the most important thing is to make the Puerto Rican communities here in Chicago and the rest of the U.S. aware of the situation and what it implies in terms of our nationhood. In this way,

through a conscientization, we can create a firm opposition to mineral exploitation. Although for the moment it may be a merely ideological or verbal opposition. I believe that that is the fundamental task for everyone now. Perhaps you can also help us from the point of view of resources. You have more resources than we do there, and in this sense also you might help us.

Q: Can you sum up by discussing the relationship of the struggle against the mines to the overall struggle for independence for Puerto Rico?

A: We believe that the struggle against mineral exploitation can transform itself within a defensive struggle into an offensive struggle and demonstrate that only independence for Puerto Rico can guarantee the territorial integrity of Puerto Rico, as well as its culture, language, music, its folklore — all the particularities that define a nation. Mineral exploitation is an attempt against our territory and against the homeland of the Puerto Ricans. We understand that only independence can guarantee that Puerto Rico will not be destroyed.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM

★ PRESENTATION TO THE DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE

BY MICHAEL DEUTSCH
(INTERNATIONAL LEGAL
CONSULTANT TO THE
ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN
PRISONERS OF WAR)

★ REPORT BY THE C.U.C.R.E.

Federico Cintron

ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY, UNITARY
COMMITTEE AGAINST REPRESSION AND
IN DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

PRESENTATION TO THE DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE

**PRESENTATION BY
MICHAEL DEUTSCH
(INTERNATIONAL LEGAL
CONSULTANT TO THE
ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN
PRISONERS OF WAR) TO
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON DECOLONIZATION,
UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 17, 1981**

Honorable Chairman and
Distinguished Delegates:

I want to thank this Committee for providing me the opportunity to come before you during your hearings on the colonial status of Puerto Rico. I appear here as the legal representative of eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters slandered as "terrorists" and imprisoned by the U.S. government, in furtherance of its efforts to deny independence and freedom to the people of Puerto Rico. With me is a member of the Civic Committee in Support of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, an organization based in Chicago, New York and Puerto Rico, composed of clergy, teachers,

lawyers and other concerned Puerto Rican and North American people who support the right of captured Puerto Rican freedom fighters to Prisoner of War status. Our purpose here today is to report to the Committee about the status and treatment of the imprisoned Puerto Rican combatants and to secure from this body a clear affirmation of your repeatedly stated position that, because the true criminals under international law are those who impose colonialism, not those who are forced to take up arms to win their freedom, the eleven captured Puerto Rican freedom fighters are entitled to Prisoner of War status and immediate release.

In August of last year we filed with this body, as well as the Secretary General, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and the Bureau of Coordination of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries a "Petition to the United Nations by Eleven Puerto Rican Anti-Colonial Freedom

Fighters, For Recognition of their status as Prisoners of War and All Appropriate Measures to Secure their Release from Detention and Imprisonment in the United States."

Our Petition describes the capture of the eleven armed combatants in Evanston, Ill., on April 4, 1980, their consistent assertion of their right to Prisoner of War status, and their principled refusal to legitimize the U.S. government's illegal colonial domination of Puerto Rico by any form of participation in the U.S. judicial process. The Petition explains how ten of the combatants were tried and convicted in Illinois state courts on charges of armed robbery and possession of weapons, during proceedings in which they were bound, gagged and beaten in open court, their families and supporters were forcibly cleared from the courthouse, and their legal consultants were arrested, threatened and held in contempt of court. The Petition further shows how a U.S. federal court sentenced the eleventh captured fighter, Maria Haydee Torres to life in prison on the contrived basis of a partial fingerprint allegedly linking her to the bombing of a Mobil Oil Co.

building, in which a person died because company officials who had evacuated the executive suites after a telephone warning, refused to have the rest of the building cleared.

The main body of our Petition sets forth the factual and legal basis for the Prisoner of War position asserted by the Eleven. It begins by reviewing the historical circumstances which have caused this Committee several times during the past ten years to find that the Puerto Rican people have been subjected to colonial domination and are entitled to independence and self-determination. The Petition recalls for this honorable Committee:

—how the Puerto Rican people had won autonomy from Spain and were exercising sovereign power over their own land when the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico in 1898 and occupied it militarily;

—how the conquering power imposed U.S. citizenship on the people of Puerto Rico and conscripted them into the U.S. Army, while retaining complete control over their government;

—how the U.S. colonial administration helped U.S. corporations to destroy Puerto Rico's prosperous, diversified, self-sufficient economy in order to exploit the land, labor and natural resources of the Puerto Rican People; and

—how the expropriation of their means of livelihood forced nearly one half of the Puerto Rican people to migrate to the metropolitan mainland, where they have continued to suffer brutal colonial oppression exacerbated by racism.

Our petition establishes:

—that the change in status to a "Commonwealth" ("Estado Libre Asociado") in 1952 did not change any essential aspect of U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico;

that the U.S. has manipulated plebiscites conducted under its control to create the false impression that the people of Puerto Rico have agreed to remain subjugated; and

—that, in fact, throughout their history the Puerto Rican people living in their homeland and in the metropolis have militantly resisted all forms of colonial domination.

We describe for the Committee:

—how the mass struggle for independence led by Don Pedro Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was brutally repressed by assassinations, false arrests and prosecutions, and vicious armed attacks, including the "Ponce Massacre" of 1937 and the bombing and strafing of the people of Jayuya and Utuado in 1950, until all the Party's leaders and hundreds of its cadre were jailed or killed;

—how Puerto Rican patriots learned from this experience, and from liberation struggles in Cuba, Algeria, Viet Nam and around the world, of the need for clandestine guerrilla action to provide the initiative and nucleus for successful people's war;

—how there has developed, on this basis, the armed clandestine movement in which the eleven petitioners are combatants, a movement which includes "Las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquenas" (F.A.L.N.) in the U.S., and several groups in Puerto Rico;

—how this movement has developed the capacity to issue joint communiques and to mount coordinated actions against the U.S. military and corporate presence in Puerto Rico; and

—how the actions by the armed clandestine movement have complemented a resurgence of militant mass action for Puerto Rican independence directed at U.S. Naval shelling of the Puerto Rican off-island of Vieques, freedom for the five Nationalist patriots who the U.S. had illegally imprisoned for more than 25 years, support for militant workers' struggles, and resistance to U.S. plans to annex Puerto Rico by making it a 51st state.

It was just such a history of colonial subjugation and anti-colonial mass action and guerrilla warfare - in the case of the heroic armed struggle of the Algerian people to liberate their country from French colonialism - that prompted the United Nations to affirm the right and legitimacy of a Decolonization War. Resolution 1514, enacted Dec 14, 1960, proclaims "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism

in all its forms and manifestations." Five days after this enactment, the General Assembly officially recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence, as well as the need for effective guarantees to insure

In October, 1970, the General Assembly established a program of action for decolonization, declaring colonialism a crime in violation of the United Nations Charter, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," and the principles of international law. The Assembly specifically affirmed "the right of colonial peoples to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence." Virtually every subsequent resolution by the General Assembly concerning colonialism, independence and self-determination has reaffirmed the right of colonial peoples to use all means available, including particularly, armed struggle. Through the historic example of the freedom fighters of Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Azania and

Ireland, the General Assembly recognized that since a colonial power rules by military force, any true commitment to the principle of self-determination requires support for colonized peoples who take up arms to liberate their country.

The members of the United Nations have also evidenced their understanding that effective support for anti-colonial struggle requires a thorough condemnation of any attempt by the colonial power to discredit the freedom fighters by treating their actions as domestic crimes, and the absolute necessity of protecting the physical and mental well-being of captured guerrillas. Accordingly, the General Assembly has repeatedly resolved that captured anti-colonial freedom fighters must be treated as Prisoners of War, a position fully in accord with the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Accords, which expand the definition of "international conflict" to include wars of national liberation, create a presumption that captured combatants are entitled to Prisoner of War status upon claiming it, and direct that this presumption must stay in force until a competent tribunal determines the prisoners' true status. In

Resolutions 33/127 and 33/24, adopted in 1978, the General Assembly has recognized that even Prisoner of War status may not afford sufficient protection, and demanded "the immediate release of all individuals detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle against colonialism."

As this Committee has found in its Resolutions of 1973, 1976, 1978, 1979, and last year, the people of Puerto Rico unquestionably are subject to colonial domination by the U.S. and are fully entitled to independence and self-determination. Those who take up arms to resist U.S. colonialism and fight for Puerto Rican independence are therefore entitled to the full protection of all U.N. Resolutions concerning the treatment of captured anti-colonial freedom fighters.

Last year, when we brought the case of the Eleven before this body, the Committee stated in its Resolution that it "condemns the imprisonment of those fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico". This declaration apparently was not sufficiently specific to constrain the illegal and repressive actions of the U.S. government. Rather, U.S. authorities have

intensified their attack on the Eleven and the independence movement.

Last fall, they charged the Eleven and freedom fighter Oscar Lopez-Rivera, who was captured later and tried in July of 1981, under a domestic "seditious conspiracy" statute which makes it a serious federal crime to organize to "oppose by force the authority" of the U.S. government. (18 U S Code, sec 2384) U.S. authorities thus brought to bear on the Eleven a law which has been invoked only twice before during the past fifty years — in 1936 to imprison Albizu Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer and the entire leadership of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico, and again in 1955 against Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda and the other leaders of the Nationalist Party in the U.S. The U.S. government has brazenly criminalized the very form of anti-colonial struggle which this Committee and the General Assembly have repeatedly endorsed. It was for this "crime" of pursuing independence for Puerto Rico that the Eleven were convicted after a show trial complete with dynamite-sniffing dogs, transport

by helicopter, and media lies to instill fear of the "demonic terrorists." The Eleven once again declared their right to Prisoner of War status and refused to participate in any way. The judge, a former U.S. Army intelligence officer, sentenced them to 55-90 additional years in prison, and said he would have had them all executed, if he could.

Not satisfied with imprisoning these freedom fighters for life and branding their movement as "terrorist", the U.S. government set out to isolate and harass them to turn against their people and movement. The Eleven were kept for the most part isolated from each other. They were prohibited from communicating with each other by mail, forced to spend long periods of time in special punitive isolation cells, and denied proper medical care and para-legal visits. Their mail and other correspondence about the independence movement was censored severely and even destroyed.

Maria Haydee Torres was placed in a special "behavior modification" isolation section of a U.S. prison in West Virginia, until public outrage forced her release into the

general population. In the case of Alfredo Mendez, the authorities found the weakness of character they were looking for, in the course of a more covert operation. At the end of April, 1981, they removed Mendez from his cell at Pontiac State Prison In Illinois, without any notice to his family or the attorneys who served as his legal consultants. For the next three months they held Mendez in total isolation from his loved ones and from the community of friends and supporters with whom he had worked over many years in pursuit of independence for his people. While the ex-U.S. Army Intelligence judge rebuffed all of our efforts to invoke the Writ of Habeas Corpus in order to have Mendez produced in open court, or to let his wife and lawyers see him government interrogators -- holding out the possibility of release from prison--employed their sophisticated techniques of behavior modification to gradually break his spirit, undermine his beliefs, change his perceptions, and ultimately program his mind. The Alfredo Mendez who reappeared in July to testify against Oscar Lopez-Rivera and the independence movement was not the same Alfredo Mendez we all had known.

The aims of the U.S. government were clearly expected through out the well-rehearsed testimony presented by Mendez. As part of their program to discredit the movement "terrorists" and to criminalize the freedom fighters, the government had Mendez testify to a concocted story concerning plans to kidnap the son of the U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Jr., a sensationalist headline-grabbing allegedly communicated by Mendez while in prison. A person active in the open movement for independence, Mendez' script referred sometimes to the clandestine movements's alleged contacts and interaction with leaders of Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.), an illegal group working in Puerto Rican communities in Chicago and New York and in support of the armed clandestine movement and captured Prisoners of War as a result of Mendez' lies, professor Jose Lopez, a leader of the M.L.N. who addressed the Committee on its behalf in 1979, has been summarily illegally discharged from his teaching position at No

eastern Illinois University in Chicago, and there appears to be a significant possibility of additional seditious conspiracy charges against him and other members of the M.L.N.

Other activists in the mass movement for Puerto Rican independence have also come under attack. Labor leader Norberto Cintron Fiallo and two other activists were framed on armed robbery charges in Puerto Rico, and two M.L.N. cadre are awaiting trial on similarly fraudulent charges in Chicago. At the same time, Cintron Fiallo, Carlos Noya Muratti of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, and Carlos Rosario Pantojas are being held in U.S. jails because they have refused to testify before a colonialist Grand Jury which is attacking the independence movement under the cover of investigating "terrorism."

Despite the U.S. government's escalating attacks against the revolutionary independence movement, it continues to mature and develop. A new armed movement organized in clandestinity with a political-military focus has firmly planted itself within the Puerto Rican struggle. There are different organizations, one in the U.S. and

four in Puerto Rico, which operate separately but unite to undertake certain actions. Three of the organizations which operate in Puerto Rico united for a punitive anti-imperialist action to avenge the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, a leading member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, who was found with a gash on his forehead, hung in his cell, in a U.S. prison in Florida, having been sent there for challenging the U.S. Navy's shelling of the off-island of Vieques.

The united action took place on December 3, 1979, in Sabana Seca. Two U.S. sailors were killed and ten others were wounded, while the patriotic forces escaped unscathed. The Sabana Seca Communications Center is a maximum security communications and intelligence installation of the U.S. Navy. The Puerto Rican guerrillas struck a blow to a sensitive spot.

Sabana Seca was not, however, an impetuous improvised patriotic reaction. It was preceded and followed by other important operations of the revolutionary Puerto Rican movement. On January 12, 1981, the Ejercito Popular

Boricua — Macheteros carried out a spectacular operation at the Muniz Air Force Base, which stands alongside the international airport.

The Macheteros entitled this action "Pitirre II," as Sabana Seca had been "Pitirre I." Not since the Vietnamese Tet Offensive have so many U.S. fighter planes been destroyed in one single action. Ten planes were demolished, with \$45 million dollars in damage. Within the last year other armed actions have included a coordinated attack on the island's communications stations which disrupted all Caribbean air traffic for 14 hours, as well as bombings of the FBI headquarters in San Juan, and other federal buildings. Last winter a powerful undetonated guerrilla bomb was discovered in the supposedly impregnable U.S. Fort Allen, wreaking havoc with U.S. plans to send Cuban refugees there.

Clearly under international law, captured Puerto Rican armed combatants are entitled to Prisoner of War status. Prisoner of War recognition was specifically applied to Puerto Rican freedom fighters by the Congress of the International Association of Demo-

cratic Lawyers in Malta last November. In addition, this status has been affirmed by other international organizations as well as organizations in Puerto Rico and the U.S.

While we are mindful of the diplomatic considerations that may have affected the Committee's decision last year to avoid giving direct recognition to the Prisoner of War status of guerrillas who attack the U.S. government in its home territory, there must not be a different standard of protection for Puerto Rican freedom fighters merely because the historical conditions dictate that they wage their urban guerrilla war within the belly of U.S. imperialism.

Since the anti-colonial principles were first embraced by the United Nations in response to the struggle of the Algerian people, carried on in both the colonized territory and the metropolitan mainland, the right to use all necessary means includes the right to wage the anti-colonial war by attacking the colonial power in its home base.

The right to fight colonialism on a second front, within the metropolis, is particularly legitimate for the people of

Puerto Rico, since half of them have been literally driven from their homeland, forced by U.S. expropriations of their country's natural wealth to emigrate to the mainland in search of jobs, and then subjected to continuing colonial oppression. Since the effects of colonialism are as real and devastating in the U.S. as in Puerto Rico, self-determination and armed struggle for liberation are the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people in both places.

Likewise, the principle which permits resort to "all necessary means" to defeat colonialism does not contemplate externally-imposed restrictions upon the target, and methods chosen by the freedom fighters. Those who struggle for the true liberation of their people do so under broad principles of justice and humanity, and are not to be constrained by labels of "terrorism" promulgated by the colonizing power. The real terror is the evil of colonial oppression and exploitation, which pervades all aspects of life in Puerto Rican and in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. The targets hit by the armed clandestine movement have consistently been institutions, installations and facilities

of colonial-imperial power over Puerto Rico.

In many respects it is the Puerto Rican clandestine movement fighting directly against the U.S. government that carries the heaviest of burdens, on behalf of all freedom-loving people of the world including the oppressed masses of the United States. Significantly for all of us, it is in part the U.S. government's reaction to the rise and impetus of the Puerto Rican armed clandestine movement that has generated U.S. President Reagan's new foreign policy emphasis on combatting "international terrorism." It is through this policy that the Reagan government attempts to discredit and criminalize the guerrilla fighters in the Caribbean, Latin America and throughout the world, claiming that these movements are terrorist organizations financed by the Soviet Union. It is on this fraudulent basis that the U.S. government can send troops to El Salvador and Guatemala, destabilize Jamaica and threaten the people's governments of Grenada and Nicaragua.

In the case of Puerto Rico—like the French in Algeria, the Portuguese in Africa and the

British in Northern Ireland — the U.S. government attempts to define the actions of the armed movement as an internal problem posed by criminal acts of terrorism, which should only concern the domestic police and intelligence apparatus.

Already a U.S. Senate Subcommittee has been formed as a propaganda voice against international and domestic terrorism, as well as to develop legislation to deal with terrorism. One of the first persons to testify was author Claire Sterling, a leading spokesperson for the existence of a so-called international network of terrorism financed and directed by the Soviet Union.

In Puerto Rico, a coordinating body made up of the C.I.A., F.B.I., U.S. military intelligence and local police, aided by grand juries, has been organized. According to colonial governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, the Puerto Rican efforts will serve as a prototype for the kind of organization necessary to defeat "terrorism" throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

The criminalization of the eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters, as well as the incarceration of Carlos Noya Muratti, Carlos Pantojas and Nor-

berto Cintron Fiallo for refusing to cooperate with U.S. Grand Juries, is the very implementation of this policy. If Puerto Rican freedom fighters are successfully branded as "terrorists" and their actions criminalized, the U.S. government will have taken another step in portraying Puerto Rico as an internal problem, while at the same time strengthening its program to destroy the liberation movements throughout the Caribbean and Latin America.

For this body to withhold Prisoner of War recognition to captured Puerto Rican combatants is to deny the revolutionary road to independence its legitimate status and the prestige and power of this forum to generate international support. Further, the specific recognition of the Eleven as protected persons under international law would materially affect their treatment in U.S. prisons. Even now plans are being made to open a special maximum security U.S. women's prison, with isolation cells for so-called "aggressive behavioral problems."

It was the Resolutions of this Committee in 1978 and 1979 concerning Puerto Rican

(*cont. on pg. 66*)

REPORT TO THE U.N.
COMMITTEE ON
DECOLONIZATION
17 TO 21 OF AUGUST
1981

Mr. President:

Members of the United Nations
Committee on Decolonization:

I come before you as a representative of the Unitary Committee Against Repression and in Defense of the Political Prisoners (C.U.C.R.E.). As in previous years, we will deal, specifically, with the repressive conduct of the U.S. government against Puerto Rican Patriots.

To speak of repression in Puerto Rico is to detail the history of Colonialism in our country. We could also say the opposite: the history of colonialism has been the history of repression. Imperialism has repressively unleashed its power against all our peoples demonstrations of our life and culture. Our people have had to continually fight and struggle, to resist in order to survive

and reaffirm ourselves as a nation in the face of the suffocating ties of colonialism.

From the basic demands of the working class to the demands of our people's cultural life, we suffer a constant policy of (systematic and planned) repressive attacks. In the political struggle for our National Independence these attacks are carried out in their most brutal and insolent form.

The U.S. government ignores, with an Imperial and arrogant attitude, the U.N. charter, its resolutions on the right of all peoples to national independence. It refuses to listen to this organization's resolutions regarding the specific case of Puerto Rico, and instead increases its repressive measures. This is a desperate attempt to hold back the struggle of our people.

Our people have had no alternative but to resort to all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, in order to resist and be heard by Washington and the world. Thus, as we

briefly review the latest cases of repression, you will see that they are related to distinct sectors of the population and they entail various realms of struggle.

This year, 3 years will have passed since the Massacre at Cerro Maravilla. This action was a trap, prepared by the Puerto Rican police, in which they assassinated 2 young independentistas, Carlos Soto Arrivi and Arnaldo Dario Rosado.

The investigations carried out by journalists, the Law School and political organizations, have demonstrated the guilt of the governor and high government officials, in the planning and execution of the assassination. The U.S. Justice Department carried out a make believe investigation, as a result of the popular indignation, and exonerated the guilty ones.

To this day, they continue to persecute, harass, kidnap, beat and fabricate cases against the young independentistas, Guillermo Segarra, Ramon Rosado, Leoncio Figueroa and John Saunders, because they are witnesses related to these shameful incidents and others committed by the police. Our committee is seriously worried

about their lives.

Three years ago Pablo Marcano and Nydia Cuevas were arrested and sentenced, for having seized the Chilean Consulate. Today, they are serving the 12 year sentence imposed by the U.S. courts in Puerto Rico. They were expatriated to U.S. prisons where their most basic human rights are violated and they are kept far from their families. As a result of the CUCRE's work, we were able to send one of Nydia Cuevas' sisters from Puerto Rico to the U.S., at Christmas time, so she could have her first and only family visit in two years.

During this month of August, and while this Committee is meeting, North American Imperialism is carrying out the largest naval maneuvers in recent years. Under the meaningful name of Adventures in the Sea, the U.S. is preparing yet another military adventure against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and the peoples of the Caribbean basin. Thousands of tons of explosives will be thrown against the martyred island of Vieques.

The U.S. Navy, not satisfied with having decimated the population, impeded its eco-

conomic development, and taken control of $\frac{3}{4}$ the territory and coasts of Vieques for its shelling practice, will continue to inflict irreparable damage to the environment and ecology during this bombardment.

Activists in the mobilization for the rights of the people of Vieques and to drive out the U.S. Navy, have been imprisoned and assassinated. The vile murder of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal is still fresh in our memory.

Cases against the President of the Fisherman's Association of Vieques, Carlos Zenon, his legal assistant and activist in the struggle against the Navy, Attorney Pedro Saade, are still pending in U.S. Courts. They want to sentence them for having entered beaches in Vieques restricted for military practices.

Jose Antonio Laboy, an independentista, is still in prison, for having exercised his right to self-defense when members of the police forces, dressed as civilians, tried to kill him. He is serving a sentence of from 7 to 15 years in prison.

In 1980, before this Committee, we denounced the Puerto Rican police's attack against the Carrasquillo Villa-

nueva family. This poor family was thrown out of the house they had lived in for 16 years. In the attack the father was wounded and the mother murdered, leaving 6 children orphans.

Today, we denounce that the murderers are free and the persecution, shootings and imprisonment of hundreds of families who live in the towns called Pueblo Indio, Sin Miedo, Adolfinia Villanueva and others continue, towns of homeless families which have taken over land to build houses. Currently, one of their leaders, Miguel Gonzalez, is in prison. At any moment, the riot squad could carry out an attack against them, since they have orders to destroy them.

Repression is not only carried out against our people in Puerto Rico. More than a million and a half Puerto Ricans live in the U.S.—forced to migrate to the metropolis because of the conditions existing in our country.

Currently, 11 compatriots accused of belonging to the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation, headquartered in the U.S., are in prison. Their sentences range from between 30 to 90 years in prison.

They claim to be prisoners of war, captured in combat against North American Intervention, perpetrated in 1898. They do not recognize the jurisdiction of U.S. courts to try them.

These companeros are not criminals. They are freedom fighters. They have the right to be treated according to the Geneva Conventions on Treatment of Prisoners of War. The General Assembly of the United Nations, the 12th of October, 1970 approved Resolution 2621, which condemns any form of Colonialism, declares it a criminal act and reaffirms the inalienable right of any colonized people to use any form of struggle, including armed struggle, in search of Freedom and National Independence. This resolution considers captured Independence Fighters as Prisoners of War, to be treated according to the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 and its additional protocols.

The Unitary Committee Against Repression, repeats our support for the demand of these 11 patriots and calls upon this Committee to consider it.

Since the action in Sabana Seca when a U.S. Navy bus was

ambushed on December 3, 1979, repression, in new forms, has increased. At that time 3 clandestine organizations: Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (F.A.R.P.), Organizacion de Voluntarios por la Revolucion Puertorriquena (O.V.R.P.), and Ejercito Popular Boricua-Macheteros, assumed responsibility for the entire operation in which 2 marines died and 8 were wounded.

The U.S. government took this action as a pretext to activate the use of the yankee Federal Grand Jury, expanded F.B.I. offices in Puerto Rico, and created a Task Force composed of the F.B.I., U.S. Secret Service, Navy Intelligence Service, the C.I.A., U.S. National Guard in Puerto Rico, and the Puerto Rican police. Since that time, hundreds of Puerto Ricans have been persecuted and harassed. The Task Force has visited the neighborhoods, workplaces, family and friends of Independentistas. Several people have been called before the Grand Jury, some have been imprisoned and cases have been fabricated against others.

WHAT IS THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY?

It's the repressive institu-

tion, par excellence, of North American imperialism. Secretly composed, it is selected from a special list of citizens who, in their work, business or some aspect of their lives, depend on or are closely tied to the U.S. government.

The law which created the Grand Jury allows the F.B.I. to act with complete disregard for the constitutional rights which should protect a citizen from the abuses of the state.

For example: you don't have the right to legal representation at a Grand Jury, they can cite anyone to appear before the Grand Jury any time they want, under penalty or contempt; the citizen loses the right not to incriminate himself, he must submit to the whims of the F.B.I., without any limits of a judicial process: give hair, writing, voice samples, photos, appear before a line-up, present all required documents, answer all questions asked of him, and anything else you could imagine, under penalty of being imprisoned if he doesn't do it.

The penalty for not cooperating, in other words for refusing to betray your country, for not giving information on your family, friends

and companeros, for not cooperating with the government which denies freedom to Puerto Rico, for not betraying your principles and convictions, I repeat, the penalty for this honorable behavior is prison, until you decide to cooperate or for the life of the Grand Jury — F.B.I., which cited you, 18 months.

You are imprisoned, without having a formal accusation lodged against you, without having had a trial, and without finding you guilty of any crime whatsoever. And, as if this isn't enough, you could be imprisoned for the rest of your life. When the first period of 18 months is up, you can be cited again by another Grand Jury, successively until infinity.

This is the case of the worker, the son of a poor family, student of sociology and independentista, Carlos Rosario Pantojas. He has already been cited twice. He is currently serving a second time and could be called again and imprisoned for a third time. And what is he accused of, what trial was held, what crime is he guilty of? NONE

His only crime is that of

thousands of Puerto Ricans: ily, neighbors, friends and to firmly maintain his patriotic convictions and not cooperating with the country and language. which oppresses his.

Another person imprisoned, serving for his first time, for not cooperating with the federal Grand Jury-F.B.I. is Carlos Noya. Carlos Noya is a militant in the struggle for Independence and Socialism, and a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist League. This organization has been a consistent defender of the right of our people to Independence and to employ armed struggle to conquer it. He is active in the defense of Vieques and is a member of our committee.

Furthermore, Noya, along with the Secretary General of the Socialist League, is a witness to the strength and high spirits of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, a few hours before he was assassinated by North American authorities in prison in Tallahassee. Angel Rodriguez Cristobal also was a militant of the Socialist League.

Carlos Noya has been doubly punished by North American authorities, by being expatriated to a federal prison in the U.S. far from his fam-

A case which, perhaps, illustrates the arbitrary, abusive and persecuting ends of the Grand Jury against the Independence movement with greatest clarity, is the situation of Norberto Cintron-Fiallo. Norberto is currently serving his first term of imprisonment for not cooperating with the Grand Jury/F.B.I.

Norberto Cintron is a well-known labor leader in our country, and he has visited other countries as a labor representative as well. He is an Independentist and Socialist.

Norberto was arrested in January, along with 2 other independentistas and accused of robbing a bank. The arrest occurred just several days after the Revolutionary Party of Puerto Rican Workers carried out an armed action against Munez Air Base.

Norberto, along with another one of the accused, Adalfredo Santos, was absolved of all charges by a Jury. Nevertheless, he is still a prisoner.

The U.S. government contrived to keep them in prison, even when they were cleared of all charges. During the trial, the U.S.'s desires to imprison him, however they could, were obvious. First the bail was excessively high. It was only lowered after a long battle.

While struggling to lower the bail, he was twice called before the Grand Jury. He refused to cooperate, but he wasn't charged with contempt at this time.

But days after he was released on bond, he was cited by the F.B.I. to appear before the Grand Jury. Once again he refused to but this time, since he was free, he was jailed for contempt.

The case of Norberto Cintron is clear: he faced a trial, was cleared of any charges, but remained a prisoner without being charged, with a trial, without a sentence, with a crime. As if this weren't enough, he was expatriated to a U.S. prison, barely 3 weeks ago, far from his family and companeros.

Companero Jorge L. Albizu Orta, who was accused along with Norberto and Adalfredo, was found guilty. He is facing a possible sentence of 25

years in prison.

Gentlemen, members of the Decolonization Committee, today, we present you with the perspective of a people in struggle for their National Independence, and of imperialism, which represses this struggle in order to maintain Puerto Rico under its colonial domination.

This is the action of a member of the United Nations: the U.S., in open violation of the U.N. Charter, Resolution 1514-XV of 1960 and this Committee's Resolutions of 1978, 79,, 80 regarding the case of Puerto Rico.

The Unitary Committee Against Repression believes that the U.S. must be condemned by the Committee on Decolonization as a flagrant violator of the principles which direct the U.N. and the right of Puerto Rico to national independence.

Furthermore, we call on you to send a Special Committee to visit Puerto Rico, to which we can present the testimony of those who suffer from the repression and are unable to come testify before you.

We demand that the U.S. immediately end the harass-

C.U.C.R.E. ...

ment and persecution of Independence fighters and the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and prisoners of war.

We call on this Committee to ask the General Assembly to examine, as a separate question in the 37th session, the question of Puerto Rico.

We do not want to end before thanking this Committee for the support it has given and we are sure will continue to give to the cause of Puerto Rican Independence.

Many Thanks,

Federico Cintron

**ORGANIZATIONAL
SECRETARY, UNITARY
COMMITTEE AGAINST
REPRESSION AND IN
DEFENSE OF THE
POLITICAL PRISONERS.**

**PRESENTATION BY
LEGAL CONSULTANT**

Nationalist freedom fighters Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo and Andres Figueroa Cordero which had a marked affect on their treatment in U.S. jails and significantly assisted the campaign for their release.

I urge this Committee to act quickly and forcefully to demand Prisoner of War protections for the eleven imprisoned Puerto Rican patriots. Last week one of the Eleven, Oscar Lopez-Rivera, wrote to you, Mr. Chairman, requesting an audience with this Committee to set forth the views of the Eleven on the situation of the liberation struggle of Puerto Rico and their status as captured anti-colonial fighters. I also urge this Committee to send a representative to meet with Mr. Lopez and the others, and to investigate whether these prisoners are being treated in accordance with human rights and international law. This would be an important first step in implementing the resolutions of this august body concerning the proper status and treatment of captured anti-colonial freedom fighters.

THANK YOU

SPECIAL MESSAGES

★ ON THE STRATEGIC ALLIANCE OF THE ARMED MILITARY FORCES

—BLACK LIBERATION ARMY (B.L.A.)

★ STATEMENT

—RED ARMY FACTION (R.A.F.)

ON THE STRATEGIC ALLIANCE OF THE ARMED MILITARY FORCES

On October 20th, 1981, under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army, Black Freedom Fighters, and North American Anti-imperialists, all members of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, attempted an act of expropriation of \$1.6 million from an armored Brinks truck.

Brother Sekou Odinga, our comrade who was captured in Queens, was not involved in the Brinks incident, Sister Fulani Sunni-Ali, Chairperson of the Peoples Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika, was not involved in the Brinks incident in any fashion, and is not a member of the Black Liberation Army. Eve Rosahn was not involved in the Brinks incident, nor is she a member of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

Although there have been historical differences between Black Revolutionary Freedom Fighters and North American Anti-Imperialists, there were overriding events that called

for this significant alliance. These events were:

1. The killing of Black men in Buffalo.

2. The collaboration of the Ku Klux Klan and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in North Carolina, and the subsequent disclosure of Bill Wilkinson as an FBI informant.

3. Fourteen unsolved murders of Black women in Boston.

4. The on-going murders of children in Georgia.

5. The shooting of four Black women in Alabama.

6. The stabbing deaths of Black men in New York City.

7. The use of KKK, Police and the United States Army as mercenaries in the Dominica invasion.

8. The KKK use of the Department of Parks for its war re-enactment of paramilitary training. This is a clear indication of government

support for right wing fascist military training.

9. The government assassination of Black activist Yulanda Ward in Washington, D.C.

10. The consistent use of mercenary forces in putting down the Miami Rebellion.

Based upon an evaluation of these events, a decentralized intelligence strategy was embarked upon by the revolutionary forces to determine the capability to separate rhetoric from real military action, especially concerning the capability of vigilante armies, and armies outside the United States military complex, that can implement urban terror on the Black and Third World population, and to assess the McCarthy-like period we are in — and to devise a response.

An intensive two year investigation was embarked upon which had people who were living underground for years, non-active in the military, reactivated and assigned to infiltrate and assess the major fascist organizations. This investigation led them to the Klan in Connecticut and North Carolina to determine FBI and local police complicity. It led them to the

so-called Christian community to determine their military preparedness in their drive for survival. It led them to investigate the international fascist network in North America and its tentacles into the Caribbean, citing the assassination of Walter Rodney and their complicity in toppling the Manley government in Jamaica.

Facts stemming from this intelligence are:

1. That the Black population in North America is the number one focus of all the above organizations, e.g., illustrated in their fliers, and their targets used for shooting practice.

2. The law enforcement agencies, from the local police, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Secret Service, and Central Intelligence Agency, have directly, through their alumni or various associations outside their own structures, used federal money, taken from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget, to participate in said organizations, through lending their expertise and financial backing, and use of classified information on their enemies.

3. Members of the ruling class have been used to back these organizations. John Connally financed the mercenary plot against Dominica. H. Ross Perot financed the failed Iran hostage rescue. The Hunt family finances North Carolina Klan activity through the sale of South African Krugerrands.

4. A mass propaganda program on white America to build an hysteria against communism and crime to perpetuate vigilantism, to cover the fascist approach to genocide by these white people, and to cover up the specific programs of the above forces. To move for more tolerance on the part of White America to accept and participate in this situation.

5. The government anti-terrorist force is formulated under the same ideology as the civilian, so-called race terror forces. Richard M. Nixon and his staff in the FBI and Justice Department are the government's originators of said program. Reaganomics is used to force the survival of the Black and Third World population to a situation where the apartheid system will be the norm in urban communities. And to put

blue and white collar workers into law enforcement related situations, thereby having control over the system as a whole.

The Revolutionary Armed Task Force assessed that the time to respond was NOW. It could no longer be a wait-and-see program. The normal process of watchdog committees, that generally halted these conspiracies, such as the NAACP, the Urban League, and Klan Watch, have been ineffective in exposing the true nature of the crisis.



The fact that the Black Liberation Army had interwoven into the fiber of the Black community clandestinely allowed the Army to have a finger on the pulse of the Black Community as well as the Anti-imperialist movement. The left movement has emphasized its work against the pro-nuclear forces and works within the bourgeois framework. They are

unprepared to understand the fact that they have been targeted and are therefore incapable of responding. The lack of response by progressive people to the Moral Majority has allowed for a right wing backlash against all women.

On the other hand, the Black Community responded to the propaganda and conditions by resisting at the basic level of survival. The astronomical amount of law enforcement films, the blatant average American racist disrespect of Black people, and the conditions illustrated from talk shows and editorials, to the passive wait-and-see attitude toward the effects of Reaganomics on Black people and poor people, illustrated to us that the time to respond and to stop the flow of fascist racist repression is now and in this period.

One clear fact is that all the racist organizations are well financed. Different from the 1960s and 70s, when Black people offered their money, checks and funds to enhance the public resistance to racism, cutbacks and loss of jobs have eliminated monies available to Black people. Black people have no control over their com-

munities. Jobs do not exist, welfare lines are longer. The money to feed the handicapped, the aged, and the unemployed all have been cut. The lack of respect for the elders in the Black community and the low level of nationalist programs have led our youth to respond to the programs of oppression and their insecurities as human beings by inflicting petty vicious crimes internally. We oppose such crimes, and since we understand the conditions that create these situations, the Revolutionary Armed Task Force decided that:

1. The masses in the urban areas must develop people's self-defense units to defend themselves NOW!
2. Programs are needed to set positive revolutionary examples for our youth, and must be developed in practice and in theory NOW!
3. The urgency to accumulate millions of dollars under the political control of the most advanced revolutionary elements for the use of various types of programs in the communities, from cultural, child care, to health care, must be secured NOW!
4. There will be no

BLACK HOLOCAUST. It will be the motivation and determination of the combatants in the field to prevent such an occurrence. Therefore we say: **THE COMRADES WHO** are in jail are not criminals. They are Prisoners of War, and they are **HEROES**. They are heroes struggling against **RACISM, FASCISM, AND IMPERIALISM**. The Black combatants follow in the tradition of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Mark Essex, Ahmed Evens, Harriet Tubman, Twyman Myers and all those who have stopped the flow of uncontested violence and repression against the Black community. The white combatants follow in the tradition of John Brown, who organized masses of white people to fight against slavery and repression.

Even though this particular military battle failed, the goals should always set the example for our youth and true revolutionaries. To set the record straight, **WE HAVE NEVER SHOT OR KILLED ANYONE WITH THEIR HANDS IN THE AIR SURRENDERING**. We have not kicked in doors with guns in hand to murder sleeping people. Even though we know where many children and families of the law enforce-

ment agencies live we have never charged the wife for the crime of the husband nor attacked innocent children.

—We charge the Black community to relinquish their fear of the enemy and to stop robbing each other, and to go to the fascist multi-national corporations where the risk is the same and the act more political.

—We charge the intellectual aspects of the Black community to come forward and clearly identify this era of Black Resistance to imperialism and colonialism and interpret the current events to the Black community.

—We charge the artists to create a clear presentation of our conditions wherever they can.

—We charge the Black and progressive press to do the investigation of our intelligence reports to celebrate the factual information from our heroes. To speak to the Geneva Accords in relation to our Prisoners of War.

—To all conscious Black and Third World people: remain diligent. If you don't intend to fight, don't be afraid to speak and resist.

—To our comrades in Azania/South Africa, who we have aided politically, economically, and militarily, our continued support is assured.

We send our solidarity to all members of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

THE BODY AND MIND OF MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA (s/n Samuel Smith) WILL NOT BE LAID TO REST IN VAIN. WE WILL CONTINUE IN HIS SPIRIT AND DISCIPLINE TO CARRY OUT HIS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE INTEREST OF THE COLLECTIVE AND HIS PEOPLE.

WE MUST HAVE A NATION!
WE MUST HAVE AN ARMY!
THERE WILL BE NO
BLACK HOLOCAUST!

ATTACK THE CENTERS,
BASES AND STRATEGIES
OF THE NORTHAMERICAN
MILITARY MACHINE!
COMBAT IMPERIALIST
WAR WITH THE INTER-
NATIONAL WAR
OF CLASSES

Today, we, the Sigurd Debus Commando of the German Red Army Faction have attacked the general headquarters of the yanqui Air Force in Europe, located in Ramstein. The U.S. imperialists will not be able to prepare their planes for world domination in peace. They want war! They want to go against history, situating themselves outside of the historical reality when the offensive of the national liberation movements will make the United States surrender its imperialist power on a world scale. They intend to destroy the military equilibrium between the socialist countries and the imperialist states. They have already declared explicitly that they want to again become the most powerful country in the world, to dominate one and all. This means that they are preparing for an outright war on all fronts—in Europe and the

Third World.

All their steps taken within the last 10 years have been toward this end, such as: a technological renovation of armaments and a new structuralization of their war machine that began with the culmination of the Vietnam war. The realization of the long term N.A.T.O. plan, the manufacture of the Neutron bomb, the war against international "terrorism," that in reality is nothing more than a series of methods to destroy the popular resistance in Western Europe and which serves the same purpose as the genocide in El Salvador, or the N.A.T.O. military coup in Turkey.

Now the emphasis of the war of extermination has again returned from the Third World to Western Europe where it began. The RAF understands that if we fail to halt this development it means our annihilation.

We must understand that imperialism is a system which means total extermination and will continue until the moment when the revolutionary resistance is sufficiently strong enough to destroy it.

Our response to all the

fantasies of escape and resignation to a nuclear inferno and the complementary wishes of those helpless pacifists is that this monster can be overcome if we here in its center elevate the revolutionary resistance to the height of the current situation.

Ramstein which is the headquarters of the U.S. Air Force and of the N.A.T.O. Air Command in Europe, and is also the largest airport outside of the U.S. will be the center of the nuclear war in Europe. It is from Ramstein that the Cruise Missiles, Pershing II's, and the U.S. spy planes-AWAC's will be deployed.

U.S. military strategy is the last resort of a politic of a chain of imperialist states. To this is adopted all the political, economic, and social means which will determine the development of the societies in the member N.A.T.O. countries. In this system the imperialist politics will be expressed in its totality.

It is the slow death of an industrialized routine

It is the destruction of the struggle to survive.

It is the lack of perspective

of life and its alienation.

It is inhuman war, the tendency to replace men with machines.

It is the destruction of the sanitary conditions of life by the industries, nuclear plants, chemicals, and prisons.

It is the control and the canalization of the expressions of life with the intent of suppressing them if they can not be utilized opportunistically by the system.

He who wants to struggle against imperialist war must struggle against the destruction of the imperialist system!

Develop a Resistance against annihilation—Towards a Revolutionary Front in Europe!

We must continue to struggle in the metropolis along with 3rd World revolutionaries.

RED ARMY FACTION

Dec. 31, 1981

ATTACK THE CENTERS,
BASES AND STRATEGIES
OF THE NORTHAMERICAN
MILITARY MACHINE!
COMBAT IMPERIALIST
WAR WITH THE INTER-
NATIONAL WAR
OF CLASSES

Today, we the Gudrun Ensslin Commando of the German Red Army Faction (R.A.F.) have attacked General Kroesen, commander of the troops of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, N.A.T.O. stationed in Central Europe.

Kroesen is one of the North American generals who truly embody the imperialist politics of the U.S. regarding Western Europe and even the Gulf of Iran.

He is the one who decides what weapons to employ in every minute of the confrontation. He is the one who decides when to destroy through the use of conventional weapons, and where and when neutron bombs will be used. He is the one who rules over the North American troops stationed here in order to intervene in Europe and even in the Gulf of Iran. He is the strategist who along with Rodgers is called to the Pen-

tagon to decide when to intervene in cases such as Iran. He is one of the U.S. military officials who want to replace Schmidt, Genscher, Strauss, Kohl or whomever, in order to openly govern the R.A.F. the moment that the revolutionary resistance accelerates against the colonial status of this country.

For many years now the intelligence sources have been compiling data on the left in the computer headquarters based in Heidelberg.

Kroesen also regularly visits the States Attorney to review the situation with him. This co-ordination and the reports of western secret service agencies, including those of NATO are utilized to determine the war strategy to be used against guerrillas in Western Europe.

Western Europe has become a section of the world front. It is the region where the yanquis possess everything, but it is also the key point where it will be decided if the liberation process continues on a world scale.

The struggle in the metropolis can halt the world imperialist apparatus until together with 3rd World revolutionaries we can achieve liberation. This can only be achieved through

a continuous transformation in the process of development of the revolutionary resistance.

Resistance means an attack against counter-revolutionary aggression; resistance means placing yourself in the context of the guerrillas. The armed struggle, the struggle in the context of the Prisoner of War, and the militant anti-imperialist struggle are the lines which are being formed in unity in the revolutionary Front in Western Europe. We must take all struggles for a just way of life and make them part of the Front. We must make ours the struggle in support of the Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners in Germany, Ireland, Turkey, Italy, and Spain! The armed struggle in Western Europe will topple this imperialist center -- struggle with us!

RED ARMY FACTION

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WHO WE ARE

MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL

Since its founding in 1977, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (M.L.N.) has marched to the forefront of the Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mexicano revolutionary struggles, impacting the political development in the United States, in Puerto Rico, and Mexico.

In the course of the last 5 years, the M.L.N. has successfully fought major battles against repression, attempts to isolate it and discredit it before our people, opportunism and reformism in the ranks of the movement, and outright counter-revolutionary politics manifested in some pro-independence organizations. Most importantly, it has placed the question of armed struggle on the political and programmatic agenda of the movement.

These achievements by a small organization--although present nation-wide within the U.S.--is the result of its strategic conceptualization of the struggle, its scientific approach to theory and practice, and its organizational character as a cadre and not a mass organization. Its strong reliance on discipline and collectivism, criticism and self-criticism and constant evaluation of its methods of work and their impact on the movement and the masses of our people, give it its distinct character in relation to petty bourgeois and neo-Marxist organizations.

Finally, the M.L.N. is not in the process of creating a name for itself through sensational media performances. It seeks to establish its name through patient and correct work among the people. We are not in competition with the rest of the movement, but instead involve ourselves in the lengthy and patient process of effective organization.

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